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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2004



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ZSMP, WEST BERLIN YOUTH--At the invitation of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], a three-member delegation of the leadership of the Karl Liebknecht Socialist Youth Union [SJV] from West Berlin visited Warsaw from 25-27 March. The visit was intended to acquaint the delegation with current ZSMP work and to allow discussion on the prospects for cooperation between the ZSMP and the Karl Liebknecht SJV. It was also determined that the chairmen of both organizations will sign a friendship and cooperation agreement during the World Federation of Democratic Youth Assembly in Prague. The SJV delegation was received by ZSMP Main Board chairman Jerzy Jaskiernia. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Mar 82 p 2]

SZSP DELEGATION IN MOSCOW--Moscow--At the invitation of the Komsomol Central Committee, a delegation of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], led by Tadeusz Sawic, visited the USSR from 29-31 March. The Polish delegation was acquainted with Komsomol activity; in addition, the SZSP representatives visited the Moscow Transportation Institute. The traditional annual "Polish Culture Week" was organized at Moscow University at the end of March with the participation of circles from the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship, the Society for Soviet-Polish Friendship, SZSP student councils, and the Komsomol. [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 1 Apr 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/482

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AUERSPERG CRITICIZES CP OF JAPAN

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 4, Feb 82 pp 32-36

[Letter by Pavel Auersperg, responsible secretary of the editorial office of the periodical OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU, in response to a letter by Antonin Hlavina, worker-pensioner, CPCZ member since 1935; portions within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Esteemed editorial offices!

For more than 20 years I have been a prepaid subscriber to and reader of the periodical OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU. As a Czechoslovak communist, I am proud of the fact that the main editorial offices of this international periodical of communist and workers parties are located in Prague, and that representatives of our fraternal parties work continually on this periodical in our capital city. Not long ago, I learned by chance that the Japanese Communist Party [JCP] has apparently proposed that the publishing of this periodical cease. Is this true? And if so, how do our Japanese comrades justify this strange proposal of theirs? And in general, what am I to make of this?

Antonin Hlavina, worker-pensioner, CPCZ member since 1935, Prague.

Esteemed Comrade Hlavina,

The editorial offices of ZIVOT STRANY have passed on your questions to me. An answer to the first one is not difficult. Unfortunately, what you are asking about is true, and has become a tasty morsel for the Western media. The standing committee of the Presidium of the JCP Central Committee made public on 11 December 1981 in the periodical AKAHATA a resolution under the title "Further Publication of Pernicious Magazine OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU Harms International Communist Movement" and proposed in the article that publication of this periodical be ceased.

In accordance with the norms and principles recognized within the international communist movement, every party may adopt its own resolutions on

any issue at all. No one has ever forced the JCP to participate in the publication of the periodical OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU. No one has, or will mount any pressure on it, provided it will be decided whether its representative will leave the editorial board of the periodical, or remain on it. Decisions of this type are an internal matter for each party. And if everything were limited only to the question of whether the JCP would continue to participate or cease to participate in the work on the magazine, then my answer would not make sense.

But unfortunately, the matter is far from concluded with the above-mentioned resolution of 11 December 1981. Right after it was made public, additional materials were published in the party daily AKAHATA and in the JCP information bulletin with direct attacks against OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU. All of these accusations were then sent abroad with the assistance of the JAPAN PRESS SERVICE bulletin. Excerpts from these texts were printed on the pages of the world press and appropriately commented upon. The JCP also sent its accusations to numerous fraternal parties. At the same time, a number of facts were distorted in the 11 December 1981 resolution. And such actions--I hope that you will agree with me--at once extend beyond the realm of a strictly internal party matter, because they run counter to comradely relations among fraternal parties.

In view of the fact that these norms have been violated and the accusations against the magazine raised publicly and circulated throughout the world, I consider it essential that the voice of the other side also be heard. Therefore, Comrade Hlavina, I am answering you in no way internally, but in an open reply on the pages of the magazine ZIVOT STRANY, which is aimed at the CPCZ functionary corps.

Well then, let's take a closer look at what took place. As you know from our press, on 24-26 November 1981 there took place in Prague a "Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties," as the highest forum at which, in accordance with the valid statute, the activities of the journal OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU could be discussed and evaluated. During the more than 23-year existence of this magazine there have been six such conferences and at the most recent one, in November 1981, the participation of fraternal party representatives was the greatest. Delegates from 90 parties in all positively evaluated the activity of our international communist periodical, discussed its future tasks, expressed various material and critical comments and communicated a number of requests. The common denominator of these was an attempt to further increase the quality of the content and improve conscientiously the multilateral activity of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU.

A large delegation from the JCP also participated in the conference. I am in no way mistaken when I say that their speeches disillusioned those conference participants who were present. I myself had the impression that the Japanese comrades had decided to use the conference podium to verify before the fact the reaction of the fraternal parties to certain theses and "accusations" which later became the basis for the resolution of the standing committee of the Presidium of the JCP Central Committee on

11 December 1981. To tell the truth, it is necessary to say that this test turned into a debacle for the Japanese representatives. The insinuations of the Japanese comrades were most decisively rejected in the speeches of many delegates. However, without regard for this reality, these theses were not only repeated in the 11 December 1981 resolution, but in addition certain new "justifications" and "new" elements appear.

What are we dealing with here?

In evaluating the magazine as "pernicious" and "harmful," mention is made in the JCP resolution of a certain "tendency to make the magazine an organ of propaganda, defending the hegemony of certain parties." The JCP had directed similar anonymous accusations at the magazine previously. But this time it mentions this "certain party" by name. In the 11 December resolution, it is openly stated that this is a matter of "the Soviet hegemonistic intervention policy," of "the hegemonistic foreign policy course of the CPSU."

In this connection, additional new realities are worthy of note. The JCP leadership expressed malicious objections to the fact that in the ideological struggle the magazine is oriented toward the fight against anti-Sovietism. This objection may not be characterized in any other way than as a clear attempt to force upon the magazine a different focus, one absolutely unacceptable to the fraternal parties. In the conference speech of the chief of the CPCZ delegation, Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, it was on the contrary emphasized that the magazine must still more thoroughly and decisively fulfill its basic mission in the fight against anti-Sovietism. Several other delegations also expressed the same views.

To proceed otherwise would, you see, mean acting in conflict with a document approved at the 1974 conference, in which the editorial organs are directed to devote most of the attention of the magazine, among other things, "to uncovering anticommunism and /anti-Sovietism/ (my emphasis, P.A.). No one has repealed this requirement which had been placed on the work of the magazine, thus it continues in force. The parties which cooperate on the magazine regard anti-Sovietism as an insidious form of anticommunism, as an instrument of the aggressive policy of imperialism which is threatening all the peoples of the world.

Intentionally, then, I shall make no mention of everything published in the Japanese materials as "criticism" directed at Soviet foreign policy, its alleged "hegemonism" and "interventionism." All progressive people are well aware of what Soviet peace-loving policy has meant for the world, how for almost 40 years now in the postwar period it has effectively contributed to the preservation of peace, the strengthening of international security, the struggles of people for freedom, independence and social progress. The Japanese comrades are accusing the magazine of supporting this policy. Should, perhaps, a periodical of communist and workers parties support another policy--say the policy of imperialism, distort its undertakings,

or fail to speak out against the doctrine of "limited nuclear war," and the like?

In the JCP resolution of 11 December 1981 objections were again presented to the criticism of the CCP on the pages of the magazine. In comparison with the speeches of the JCP representatives at the conference, there appears here, however, a new anti-Soviet aspect: This criticism is directly linked with the "antagonism between the USSR and China." At the same time, every serious and impartial reader of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU can confirm that in the articles by authors of the individual fraternal parties /criticism is directed only at those aspects of Peking's foreign policy/ which directly harm the interests of these parties. No one has the right, not even someone in Tokyo, to forbid this logical defense of the vital interests of the fraternal parties.

I wish to assure you, Comrade Hlavina, that all of these, and other, accusations contained in the JCP resolution of 11 December 1981 had been aired in one form or another at the November conference concerning the magazine's work. They received no support there from the delegations of the fraternal parties which took part in this meeting. Nor did the fraternal party representatives support additional proposals advanced by the Japanese delegation, and which were again repeated in the JCP resolution of 11 December 1981. What were these in particular?

--The JCP delegation unconditionally demanded a so-called "consensus," according to which complete unanimity was to be introduced in the approval process for the magazine's content and for the adopting of decisions in individual organs of the magazine. By way of explanation, Comrade Hlavina, I wish to add that under this interpretation of "consensus," which in Czech means an accordance of views, one contrary vote would be sufficient, for instance from the Japanese, to block the implementation of resolutions or the publication of articles about which the representatives of all the other fraternal parties in the magazine are in agreement.

--In addition, efforts were made to assert the view that articles ought not to be published in the magazine in which authors write, to be sure, about problems in their own parties or countries, but about which there is an alleged difference of opinion. For instance, the Japanese side holds another viewpoint on a given matter than the one held by the fraternal party which is directly affected by the issue at hand. This requires nothing more or less than ceasing to recognize the sovereign right of every fraternal party, under which none other than it alone may interpret its own domestic and international policy in the magazine. I would like to clarify this with an example: Concerning problems being resolved by the CPCZ, a viewpoint may be presented on the pages of the magazine only by functionaries and authors affiliated with our party, and under no circumstances, as they would wish, by Japanese representatives.

--It was firmly requested that the makeup of the editorial board be changed and expanded to include a representative of the JCP.

It is my pleasure to note, Comrade Hlavina, that the JCP delegation did not arrive at the November conference with proposals of this type as if with something new or unexpected. These proposals had been contained in several letters from the JCP Central Committee which had been sent since the beginning of 1981 to the attention of the magazine. The editorial board had discussed these letters in great detail, despite the fact that the JCP Central Committee had immediately published this internal correspondence in a tendentious manner. /The conclusions were unambiguous: the editorial board has no interest in carrying on a public dispute with the JCP. The resolution of the issues brought up by the Japanese comrades does not fall within the competence of the editorial board, but belongs "to the exclusive jurisdiction of the conference of communist and workers party delegates concerning the work of the magazine."/ This conference convened and held constructive discussions. The speeches of the Japanese delegation, whose "proposals," as the conference protocol confirms, were explicitly rejected by everyone, were the exception. The JCP delegation for all practical purposes remained alone and isolated with its "proposals" and "demands."

In this connection, I cannot refrain from asking the question of whether the disappointment of the JCP delegation because of this lack of success was the primary motivation for the unconvincing assertion contained in the 11 December 1981 resolution which states that "The course and outcomes of the conference clearly showed that the magazine has completely and definitively departed from the principles on which it was founded." That famous comment from the world famous book, "Adventures of the Good Soldier Svejk," immediately comes to one's mind: "The whole column is marching poorly, only Mr Frajtr is keeping the correct pace."

Regretfully, it must be stated that this style, a combination of attempts to control and to lecture while simply ignoring the factual aspects of a matter, is very typical of the other accusations of the JCP which were brought to the attention of the journal. But if we lay our hands on the facts, on the resolutions adopted at the founding conference in 1958, when it was decided to start the magazine and to approve its charter, then we learn that the magazine has not deviated and is not deviating in any way from the principles with which it was endowed at its inception.

What were these principles?

Let us refresh our memories as to what was written at that time. The parties which agreed to found the magazine characterized its basic objectives as follows: "The magazine should not be a directive organ; it is to concern itself with propaganda and with the discussion of issues of Marxist-Leninist theory, to inform comprehensively and widely the international workers movement concerning the activity of communist parties and to provide an international forum for the exchange of experiences among fraternal parties. To this end, the editorial offices may also provide space in the magazine for a comradely exchange of views and experiences which, within the framework of the general principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, reflect certain differences in the positions of their authors;

the magazine editorial offices also have the opportunity to express their views on the issues under discussion. When basic differences arise among the members of the editorial board in relation to making public politically very significant material which defines the positions of the parties which share in the publication of the magazine, then the question of its publication is to be negotiated on the basis of mutual agreements among the central committees of the appropriate parties."

In 1958, when these principles were announced, only a few correspondents from the other fraternal parties were working in the editorial offices, along with the 12 members of the editorial board. Subsequently, when the representation of the fraternal parties had increased substantially, and when the 1969 conference concerning the work of the magazine decided to form an editorial council on which all fraternal party representatives would sit with equal powers, this regulation concerning the making public of materials on which there was a difference of opinion was made more precise, following discussions with the central committees of the fraternal parties. It was established that /this agreement would be implemented through the party representatives on the magazine staff./

The times have required changes in certain other norms of editorial work. At the 1974 conference of communist and workers parties concerning the work of the magazine there occurred a further refinement of the principles governing editorial work which took into account 5 years of experience in the activities of the editorial council and of the current situation in the communist movement. In the resolution adopted by this conference it is stated: "The participants express the wish that the editorial board and the editorial council attach still greater significance to a collective resolution of questions which must be negotiated in the course of their work, and that occasional differences of opinion be overcome in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, democratically, on the basis of comradely discussions, equality and attention to and /maximum possible respect for the views of the representatives of all fraternal parties./

This was not a matter, however, solely of supplementing the work rules of the magazine with some new elements. Certain, previously valid principles had again to be jettisoned as a result of changes which had taken place in relations among fraternal parties. This, however, was passed over in silence in the position papers of the JCP. This related, for instance, to the principle which had been emphasized at the founding of the magazine, that it was to concern itself with the discussion of issues of Marxist-Leninist theory. The conclusion was reached that this was not appropriate for the magazine, but should be strictly a matter for the individual fraternal parties. Or the principle that the editorial offices have the opportunity also to express their own view on issues under discussion. These principles were jettisoned, because retaining them might have been interpreted as an attempt by the magazine to stand to a certain degree above the fraternal parties and to conduct itself in relation to them as a kind of directive organ, which it is not, cannot, and does not wish to be. The JCP leadership arbitrarily attributes similar thoughts to the magazine,

although without presenting any proof, and without justification accuses it of intentions which simply do not exist.

The truth is simple and incontrovertible. No fraternal party has ever received any kind of directive guideline from the magazine. Over the period of almost 15 years that I have in one way or another been connected with the work of the editorial offices, I do not remember a single such instance. On the contrary, the principles which are very well known to all fraternal parties including the JCP, according to which the magazine informs the international workers movement concerning the activities of the fraternal parties and provides them with an international forum for the exchange of experiences, are stringently observed to their full extent.

But let us proceed further. In the JCP materials directed to the editorial offices, complaints also appear concerning the violation of the organizational and administrative principles established at the founding of the magazine, concerning the "nondemocratic character" of the editorial office structure. What does reality look like, however?

The composition of the editorial offices, like the norms and principles of activity of the international magazine collective, was also modified and has evolved in relation to the actual situation. In the first years, the editorial activity of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU were managed by an editorial board composed of representatives of the 12 parties which were the founders of the journal. In 1969, in conjunction with a substantial increase in the number of parties participating in the publication of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU, a standing editorial council was created, and a large number of the functions of the editorial board passed to its jurisdiction. At the 1974 conference, in an attempt to provide a more even geographical representation of the parties composing the editorial board, it was unanimously decided to accept as additional members representatives of three parties, specifically the Iraqi Communist Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and the U.S. Communist Party.

And finally, at the November 1981 conference where, as is well known, no resolutions were adopted, the representatives of practically all 90 parties, with the exception of the JCP, agreed with the proposal contained in the "Report of the Editorial Board and Editorial Council, that the role and range of functions of the editorial council be increased, and furthermore that an international collective secretariat be formed, composed of two responsible secretaries from the editorial offices and 10 elected chairmen of territorial and thematic commissions for the magazine. This organ is already functioning, and among its priority tasks is the preparation of the content of specific editions, which is then approved by the editorial council.

All of these changes attest to the constantly advancing process of democratization of the activity of the magazine editorial offices, to a strengthening of the principles of collectivism of its management, to the winning over of all parties represented on the magazine, on the basis of absolute equality, for active participation in the resolution of all questions connected with the issuance and activities of the magazine.

The Japanese assertions to the effect that proposals to democratize the work methods of the magazine, including those communicated by the JCP, have been ignored are thus simply unsupportable. All such proposals have been discussed and appropriate decisions have been made regarding them, of course in such a form as to meet with the maximum possible support of those parties which participate in the work of the magazine.

Additional accusations leveled at the magazine are likewise problematic. They indicate, you see, that on a number of issues the Japanese comrades demonstrate a startling ignorance and, in a clear attempt to mystify their own party and the general public, they confuse several issues. They maintain, for instance, that allegedly "the editorial board is not elected according to accepted standards" and that "it is formed arbitrarily." In reality, it operates with the composition that was agreed upon when the magazine was founded following an agreement among the founding parties. As has already been stated, the 1974 conference decided to expand the editorial board with representatives from three additional fraternal parties. Three years later, however, at the 1977 conference no one supported the Japanese proposal that the JCP also become a member of the editorial board.

The JCP also asserts that the position of chief editor "has been taken over" by the CPSU. The truth, however, is that the chief editor fulfills his function on the basis of an agreement reached among the representatives of the fraternal parties at the founding of the magazine, and discharges his duties at first among equals. I myself remember the date of 13 August 1968 when the editorial board unanimously voted for and approved Konstantin Zarodov in the function of chief editor with the unambiguous approval of all the magazine correspondents then in attendance. As is well known, the JCP already had its correspondent on the magazine at this time.

The JCP further asserts that, allegedly, "the editorial board has the right to make decisions about all basic issues concerning the content of the magazine." Again, it has missed the mark. Such decisions fall under the competence of the editorial council, and under no circumstances under that of the editorial board.

The JCP is, furthermore, futilely attempting to deceive its own and the international public with the assertion that, allegedly, "the editorial offices of the magazine are, basically, run by the CPSU." The truth, again, lies elsewhere. The editorial offices are run by the editorial council, on which there are representatives of the 63 fraternal parties which participate in the work of the magazine; operational problems connected with the work of the editorial offices are resolved by the editorial board, composed of representatives of 15 parties, all of whom, including the chief editor, have equal rights. Finally, the Japanese comrades assert, without compunction, that the newly created "international collective secretariat is run by the Soviet chief editor." This is also nonsense, because the chief editor is not even a member of the international secretariat.

This naturally raises the question of how it is possible to make such serious allegations while at the same time dealing so irresponsibly and lightly with the facts?

But let us proceed further, Comrade Hlavina! The Japanese comrades have proposed to the editorial offices that "there be an end to the improper practice of decisionmaking on the basis of a majority of votes." I can assure you that such a practice does not exist. In its decisionmaking, the editorial offices are governed by the principle /"of maximum possible respect for the views of the representatives of all fraternal parties"/ recorded in the resolution of the 1974 conference.

In the 11 December 1981 resolution disagreement was expressed with the fact that, allegedly, "representatives of additional parties, without any kind of consultation with the appropriate organs" had been coopted into the editorial offices. This criticism, as well as the term "appropriate organs," were explained as follows in a letter from the JCP Central Committee dated 27 December 1980 and addressed to the editorial college: "representatives of certain parties, the structure and character of which remain unclear, have become members of the editorial council. On the issue of accepting new parties, it is essential to adhere to a democratic approach: to consult with parties which are already participating and to make a decision with their approval."

But this again does not correspond to the principle established in 1958 at the founding of the magazine, at which time it was stated: "All fraternal parties who have not participated in this conference are extended the possibility of joining in with the same rights as the parties which are founding this magazine, or to participate in its publication and activities in any manner which they desire." This, then, is the principle, and the editorial offices consistently and constantly govern themselves according to it.

Finally, the 11 December 1981 resolution provides a distorted picture of the course of the November conference concerning the work of the magazine. The Japanese comrades attempt to create the impression that the conference did not assure the equal status of the participants, and that the democratic norms accepted at the magazine, and within the communist movement generally, were not adhered to. Matters are presented in such a way that it appears that the "chief editor's report" was discussed at the conference, and that the JCP representatives were discriminated against in the sense that their proposals were "rejected in an evasive manner." It likewise points to the fact that "a number of additional parties" besides the JCP "protested against the communique," but that, allegedly, "someone" took no notice of all of this.

Was this, in fact, the case? Not at all! The facts have again been stood on their head.

Participants at the November conference were presented with a detailed "Report of the Editorial Board and the Editorial Council Concerning Magazine

Activities" (35 pages plus 55 pages of supplements), which had been approved by these democratic organs of the magazine. The chief editor appeared in no way with the report, but with a very short introductory commentary on the report. This in itself refutes the other tendentious Japanese assertion that, allegedly, the magazine is not run by a collective organ, the editorial council, on which 63 parties are represented with equal rights, but by some mysterious "responsible person," or in other words, an underhanded, narrow circle of people.

Conference participants were given every opportunity to express themselves concerning the broad range of questions connected with the activities of the magazine, above all concerning its content, so that they could come forward with critical comments and present proposals. The order of discussion was established by none other than the conference participants themselves. No one was discriminated against in this, not even the Japanese comrades. I consider it my responsibility to call attention to what we all witnessed. The chief of the JCP delegation gave a speech in which he gave relatively short shrift to actual work of the magazine, while subsequently broadly and specifically criticizing the position and the policy of the council of fraternal parties. This speech disrupted the established order of discussions. It is natural that a large number of discussants who gave speeches after him reacted to this tendentious criticism. Still more in conflict with the approved order of conference discussions, the JCP delegation again demanded the floor insistently at the concluding session, and this gave it the possibility to speak a second time, the only participant to do so, even before the informational communique was formulated.

I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise at the way in which the 11 December 1981 resolution exaggerates the "positive support" and "solidarity" with the proposals of the Japanese delegation. There is even talk of some kind of "opposition to the report." Actually, for one reason or another the views of the JCP received certain single responses in the speeches of two or three discussants. But all other conference participants, and there were 80 speakers in all, expressed fundamentally different, not to say opposite, views, or entered into direct polemics with the views of the Japanese delegation on content and organizational questions connected with work of the magazine.

It is likewise a distortion of reality when the 11 December resolution mentions a certain "communique" from the November conference. Above all, this so-called "communique" was nothing more than a terse, informational announcement for the press, and contained no evaluation or instructions. Moreover, to speak of "a number of other parties" which raised objections to this informational announcement is to describe the entire matter in a distorted fashion. In addition to the JCP delegation, only one other delegation had reservations at the conference session regarding information for the press--the delegation of the Italian Communist Party.

The 11 December 1981 resolution also contains a sharp protest against the fact that, allegedly, "during the session, a campaign was systematically provoked for the calling of an international conference of communist and

workers parties." What is in fact hidden behind this anger? Only the fact that in their speeches several conference participants expressed their support for the idea of an international conference of communist and workers parties. Is it possible to call this a "campaign"? And who would forbid those comrades, who wanted to say this, the right to do so? Who here should, or wanted to appear in the role of censor or judge? Does not the 11 December 1981 resolution provide a sufficient answer?

A clear responsibility always to have respect for and to maintain a serious relationship to the facts applies to all communists. As you see, Comrade Hlavina, the JCP in this instance has forsaken this principle. First of all, it has portrayed the activity of our international periodical in the crooked mirror of its own perceptions, paying no attention whatever to the elementary requirements of logic and morality, and finally it did not shrink from making, with haughty precipitousness, the conclusion that the further publication of the magazine "is becoming harmful" and that therefore "there exists no other path than the cessation of the magazine OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU and the dissolution of its editorial offices." In this connection, the Japanese comrades warn, "the JCP Central Committee will take the requisite steps within the framework of the international communist movement."

It is clear then that the JCP, which is now pursuing the demise of the magazine, has arrogated unto itself the role of a kind of supreme judge who will decide what corresponds to the interests of the communist movement, that is, its fraternal parties, and what is harmful to them. At the same time, the Japanese comrades either pass over with disparaging silence or directly distort the completely opposite positions of other fraternal parties toward the magazine, positions which were expressed at the November conference. Through this unfair technique, the leadership of the JCP is attempting to negate the results of the broad exchange of views, to reduce its significance and to corrode the broad unanimity concerning the tasks of the magazine which was achieved at the November conference in Prague.

The request to liquidate the magazine, along with its more than 60 National editions issued by communist and workers parties in 37 languages and distributed in 145 nations of the world is difficult to view as anything but an unacceptable attempt by the JCP to force the acceptance of its own line by ultimatum, to force its own unique views on other fraternal parties and to reject their clearly expressed will, which is to fully support the work and activity of their international magazine OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU.

I would like, therefore, again to emphasize that almost all the fraternal party delegations at the November conference evaluated positively the important significance of the magazine for the international communist movement. During a meeting with the chiefs of the delegations of the fraternal parties which were present at the November conference, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak, at a reception held at the Prague Castle, emphasized that during the period of its more than 20-year existence, the magazine has "become a useful,

important instrument for the development of ties and cooperation among our fraternal parties. Through it, the victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism reach many countries of the world, and the progressive objectives of the policies of communist and worker's parties in the struggle for socialism, social justice, for national freedom and independence, for peace and democracy are popularized. The dialog on the pages of the magazine makes possible the retention and generalization of the rich experiences which fraternal parties are obtaining in their daily struggle for the ideals of the working class and all workers under the concrete and specific conditions of their own countries. It forms good preconditions for these, more than once very expensively acquired, experiences to become the property of all communists and progressive people."

As is well known, the chief personnel and central committees of the vast majority of the world's communist and workers parties hold a similarly high opinion of the activity and role of OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU. Therefore OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU will continue to be published and distributed throughout the world, because this is required by the interests and needs of the international communist movement, the interests of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism!

With comradely best wishes,

Pavel Auersberg, responsible secretary of the editorial offices of the journal OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU.

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FLEXIBILITY, TOLERANCE URGED IN LEADING YOUTH TO MARXISM

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 3, Mar 82 pp 3-7

[Article by Eva Ancsel, candidate, professor of Lorand Eotvos University:
"The Path of the Youth to Marxism"]

[Text] The path leading to Marxism is not a race track. Nor is it a process which can be or should be accelerated! We do not well if we measure with a stop watch who runs most quickly.

Lenin's thought that the young generation may not attain socialism by the same path as their predecessors applies to Marxism as well. And naturally they will not do so in the same way, for the path cannot be uniformized. We must stress from this same thought of Lenin that the youth cannot come to the ideals of Marx without independence. This does not apply to every ideology. But how one can come to Marxism is determined by its most interior nature, namely that this is the system of ideals of the movement of the worker class. It is not a closed study, with a capital S, but rather a dynamic ideal, because the theory of a revolutionary movement must be so, and coming to such an ideology is something else too.

So it is not at all a matter of indifference how we imagine this path or onto what path we want to "turn" the youth. It may be that we want to build them a path leading there which can be traveled most quickly, most easily. But it is not important that it should be easy to attain to Marxism. There may be a need for certain obstacles, naturally not artificial obstacles! We must see that only those ideas and ideals strike deep roots in people for which they struggled in their own way--everyone differently. It is not possible to receive a system of ideals for a movement, Marxism, from the hand of those who allegedly have a permanent ticket to the realm of truth, from the adult generation. Perhaps we still think this and so are intolerant with the youth, because they are not willing to believe that they can tranquilly take our truths from us, truths which we have brought from a sure place.

If I speak of a path, emphasizing that this path is different--because there are great differences within the young generation--I must stress the idea that we will be able to help the youth only if we have historical empathy, if we are able to put ourselves in their shoes--what it means to have been born in 1960 or 1965. Only this historical empathy can protect us from expressly or

tacitly reproaching this generation for not having lived through the past two fatal cataclysms. "What have they done?" we ask at such times. "On what basis do they speak against the perversities of society, when they cannot yet show historic merits?" This express or tacit reproach is profoundly ahistorical. Why should we not regard it rather as a great achievement that this generation has not passed certain tests, even if this appears in the absence of historical experience.

Marxism cannot be reduced to a system of concepts and information. Naturally it contains indispensable information, but an open ideal is much more, it means a definite system of passions also, passions motivating action. These cannot be chilled, made to hibernate as didactic ideas, so that, rigidified into study material, they can be more easily administered. So this attainment cannot be identified with study, or even with mastering what one studies. To use a biological simile, the system of Marxist ideals must be assimilated. Biologists use this concept for material exchange. In the process of plant material exchange the plant transforms inorganic materials into organic material. The indispensable information contained in Marxism is in itself inorganic material; by assimilation it becomes organic material, which ensures the growth of the plant.

If we interpret in this way the relationship of the maturing generation to Marxism, what might be the impulses for mastering or assimilating it? Casting a glance at the history of Marxism the answer is obvious--it is basically historically forced action which has carried people, groups of people, strata and classes to marxism. Impulses of historic acts which made it indispensable --to use Lenin's words--to think things through, because without this the deeds could not be realized. In this respect there has been no essential change. Today also it is basically the will to action which is the only way to attain to Marxism, the sovereign will to attain it.

The trade we ply--we propagandists and teachers of Marxism--cannot be regarded as primary; this work is in the service of transmitting the will to act. To put it more crudely, direct ideological activity can be "worked into" this process, but it cannot be the starting point or the end point. The latter would be an idealist and not a Marxist interpretation of ideology itself.

It is true that teachers and propagandists also are affected by an occupational disease. They would like it better if the path could be traveled from awareness to awareness, if thought did not have to stumble through the often thorny filter of reality. But it must stumble through, because only that thought can be credible which undertakes this path, which is not the shortest path. A straight line is not always the shortest path between goal and result, especially if awareness is involved. I mentioned the often thorny filter of reality, and this is hardly a strong expression, because very often, for an obstinately long time, we meet with views according to which there is something which basically confuses our ideological activity, namely, reality. If there were no reality--perhaps as if there should be no reality in institutions of learning--if we could attain to a hermetically sealed ideology under hermetically sealed conditions, then--many feel--our task would be easier. This is not a Marxist behavior, because reality is not an extenuating circumstance.

We have a true statement, a true and yet unsatisfactory statement, which is not sufficient for answering the problems of the young generation, and it goes like this: Today's youth were born into socialism, so they consider this society natural. Why it is true need not be explained, but why is it not satisfactory? It is because the followers of Marx thought that the communist movement would strip off from the eternal social relationships the character given by nature, regarding these as nothing more than relationships created by men, which thus could be changed by men. The essence of the communist movement is so defined. To regard socialism as natural is different from endowing existing relationships with a character given by nature, still this Marxian idea must be noted. Because to be born into something is an accident, and it is the mission of socialism to reduce the accident of birth, which burdens every individual life. Thus, if the youth regard socialism as natural this should not make us think that this is a guarantee of socialist or Marxist awareness. It is here that we have the specific tasks, characterizing present relationships, of developing the Marxist-Leninist view of the world. I use the expression "view of the world" because Marxism cannot be compared to eyeglasses with which, if we put them on, we will see better. Eyeglasses--even in the age of plastics--are fragile.

He who masters Marxism has his vision changed; he does not wear eyeglasses. His wits will be sharper and braver. It is not simply that he attains to truths, including the great laws according to which history moves; he attains to a way of viewing which makes it possible to understand what happened 2 years ago at some point on the planet. Of course, it is easier to view the general laws of world history with the aid of Marxism; it is much more difficult to explain, for example, the events in South Africa with Marxist eyes. But this is the test, whether we are able to go beyond the big questions and apply Marxism--even if not self-assuredly, not in schema, not without worry. In the final analysis, ideology today is nothing more than the ideological form of the conflicts of the age.

To put it mildly, we cannot leave the conflicts of our age outside the sphere of the ideological process. It may be that we are incapable of doing it; it is certain that we are incapable of doing it perfectly, for we have great failings. All this must be faced; but out of it we must undertake what is possible and which can be undertaken; and in the meantime we must dare to say what those questions are which we cannot answer. If we wanted to explain everything with a behavior which explains despite all obstacles we would only harm the credibility of Marxism. There is not theory which can give an unambiguous thesis-like answer to every problem in the world--only a mythology is capable of this.

We must approach the problems, and do so in a Marxist manner, but we cannot take out the only possible solutions to new phenomena and problems from some sort of warehouse of answers.

It may appear that when I emphasize independence in an actual approach to the real problems of reality I am expecting us to behave in a paradoxical way. This appears to be a paradox because if I have a conviction, if I think and feel something, then I can want nothing else than that the members of the maturing generation should think as I, feel as I.

But if we are Marxists then it is part of our conviction that a man must be an independent being (we are speaking of independence, not isolation); so what we should want also is that the maturing generation should be capable of being independent, of being our partner in the search for answers, and not only the generation but the empirical members of it also. (Because we are much easier with the "maturing generation" than we are with the empirical youth!)

I believe that there is no paradox here; it is only that we must free ourselves of historical lapses of memory. We should not forget that we also stumbled on that path; we should not forget that finally we also forged those harmonies which maintain the soul within us. And in this struggle a great role was played by the independent processing of basic information acquired with the aid of others. We must pass on our conviction, but we must also develop those abilities indispensable for the forming of sovereign judgments, and we must bear it, and with a good heart, if sometimes these are used against us. In the final analysis this is not done against us a priori; it is not a failure but an achievement.

We should not think that impatience, in any sense, can be a synonym for party spirit. Intolerance is not party spirit, but passive tolerance is not desirable either. Life experience shows that the weaker a man's conviction the more intolerant he will be of others. This is completely understandable, because he who has only a little, shaky system of values is afraid of every contradiction, fearing that his rudimentary, fragile internal structure will collapse. One cannot do ideological work in a way intolerant of contradiction as the representative of an ideal in which a position of prominence is given to dialectic contradictions. To put it differently, persuasive force weakens in direct proportion to the urgency, intolerance or pressure added to it--with the ticking of the stopwatch mentioned in the introduction.

The path by which one can attain to Marxism is immeasurably broader today. It is broader in comparison to that narrow path, fraught with perilous obstacles, by which the members of the pre-1945 generations came to revolutionary ideas. The question is: Although the possibilities are immeasurably greater, are there not obstacles on this path, and if there are, what type are they? Before all else, the fact that this generation grew up in socialism or was born into socialism is, naturally, a great opportunity for attaining to Marxism. But it is not only an advantage. If ideological work is not sufficiently profound then the problems of building socialism cast their shadows on the system of Marxist-Leninist ideals which is "innocent" in this.

Marxism is at least as innocent in regard to the weaknesses of our socialist building work as physics is in regard to the fact that radios sometimes have static. No one would think to conclude, in the wake of hearing static on the radio, that the laws of acoustics had been overthrown. If the maturing generation concludes from the occasional static of socialist reality that there may be trouble with the laws of the theory then this is due not simply to the bad working of their minds but also to our having tied the Marxist ideals in an illusory fashion to the socialist realization.

The surge of history is not such that only the ideals of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Gramsci are realized in it. They are realized, but they are not the only things controlling the waves. This would be a most illusory view of history.

If we present our reality as it is it means that we should strip it of appearances, of those mystic veils of which Marx speaks. This is an indispensable, central element of our ideological activity; without it we teach in vain the infinitude of the world, the objective and subjective conditions of revolutions, formulated into points.

There are also obstacles of another type on this broad path, obstacles which we raise ourselves, out of excessive zeal. In the majority of cases this excessive zeal is well intended, because we think that with 500 more debating circles we can make 5,000 more young people into Marxists. This is not the way it is.

We are beginning to get over extensive economic thinking. But there is still an extensive effort in ideological activity, which does not always serve the cause well, not even if it derives from entirely well intended zeal. But it is not certain that it is always intended, because one can win merit with such excessive zeal, and this is not gratifying.

We must ask ourselves also why it is so very difficult to make the meeting with Marxism the enlightening experience it was for so many of our generation. Perhaps it is because the young people hear the same thing in so very many versions, so often repeated, as a result of our excessive zeal. Naturally, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin can be real revelations today also. Perhaps this is why we might praise our handbooks, because after them an original work of Marx is staggering. But more important than everything is to get rid of that caution with which we treat the contradictions of our own reality. This is even increasing before the maturing generation. Frequently we consider them, at the age of 25 years, to be too poorly provided with historical experiences to hear from us about the contradictions of reality--past and present--when they have experienced them themselves anyway. There is an extraordinarily simple reason for this silence of the adults. Very often we are silent about things which cut to the quick, at home and in the seminar room alike. Is it not because we do not dare say that we did not always unerringly condemn what was happening around us? Well, even if we do not say it they will learn that we made mistakes. They will know it independent of what we say, and this will cause more harm than if we dared to say what the classics of Marxism often said in the first person singular, "I was wrong."

Young people react sensitively to silence and uncertainty. Not long ago a student said that he had a teacher who resembled a traffic light. If somebody says something which already appeared in NEPSZABADSAG then he shows a green light, otherwise he turns red. But the worst type, he said, is the one who is always orange, being uncertain whether he should show red or green.

The youth--like everyone else--need someone who will talk with them not as a pipe for words but as a personality, who bears the human marks of his conception of the world and does not forget how he got there. Because he who does not remember this cannot have historical empathy either. The sign of the strength of one's conviction is not rigidity, least of all is it that; rather, it is the ability to accept the posing of new questions and to seek paths not yet tried.

'POLITYKA' REPORT ON MADRID MEETINGS NOTED

Review of Madrid Meetings

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 2, 27 Feb 82 p 11

[Article by Adam Daniel Rotfeld, director of the Department for European Security in the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM)]

[Text] The 9 February resumption of the Madrid meeting of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] has evoked a great deal of interest in Poland. This is not so much the result of the arrival of the NATO foreign affairs ministers, as the subject being discussed: Polish affairs (the second article in this group is a commentary on this).

News from the Madrid meeting, which has continued with interruptions since 9 September 1980, had been published rarely in the Polish press. Matters of real importance were at work in Poland. The news from Gdansk, Ustrzyki Dolne, Bydgoszcz, Radom and Zielona Gora was more important than information from Madrid, Vienna, Geneva or New York.

Until 13 December (more precisely, until 16 December 1981) nothing was said in Madrid on Polish issues. That is, nothing was said officially. No one, with the exception of the Polish delegation, broached the subject about which the whole world was talking. Meanwhile, in the lobbies and in private conversations between delegates, this was the number one subject. Publicly, at meetings, in working groups and in the plenary hall, the principles of non-interference in Polish internal affairs were being observed. This all changed.

Practically the entire final meeting held directly before the Christmas holidays (18 December) was devoted to Polish affairs. The delegates from the United States and from Liechtenstein spoke on these issues. So did the representatives from France, the FRG, Great Britain and San Marino. In all, there were over 20 speakers. The next day, when we landed in Poland, we found nothing on this subject in the Polish press. Nor was any mention made that another break had been called in the work of the Madrid meeting and that deliberations would resume in February under Polish chairmanship.

Since the daily press is now providing us with current information on the Madrid debate, it is perhaps worthwhile to explain why the work of the meeting, which was initially planned to end in March 1981, has little chance of ending this March. The reason is that 1 year ago--on 31 March 1981--an extensive document prepared by a group of neutral and unaligned states reached the deliberations table. Delegates from the East and West considered this document a good working basis for a compromise. Their optimism seemed justified because the diplomats from Austria, Finland, Switzerland, Sweden and Yugoslavia, as well as from several smaller neutral states, took into account in their document all of the initial understandings and solutions reached in the five editorial groups.

Work on the final document in Madrid embraces nearly 100 different problems of a political-legal, military and economic nature; problems concerning environmental protection; scientific-technical, cultural, educational and informational cooperation; contacts between people; human rights, religious freedoms; cooperation in combating terrorism; and the like. The framework and the directions specified in the principles and recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act serve as the point of departure. This act states that the purpose of meetings of the Belgrade-77 or the Madrid-80 type is to conduct "an in-depth exchange of views, both with regard to the enactment of the provisions of the Final Act and the implementation of the tasks specified by the conference and...with regard to the improvement of their mutual relations, the strengthening of security, the development of cooperation in Europe and the expansion of the process of detente in the future."

This formula, subject to various interpretations, led to a great diplomatic battle during preparation for the CSCE meeting in Belgrade and caused still greater quarrels during the preparatory meeting in Madrid. The essence of the problem is that the United States, backed by several other Western states (primarily Great Britain and Canada) would like to limit the task of the Madrid debate to a review of the implementation of the CSCE Final Act; i.e., an evaluation of the past (hence in the Western press, when meetings of the Belgrade or Madrid type are discussed, the concept of the "review conference" is used). Meanwhile, socialist countries emphasize aspects concerning the future: improvement in mutual relations, strengthening security and developing cooperation and detente. This requires that new decisions be agreed upon.

As known, 4 years ago in Belgrade, quarrels on the subject of who is observing and who is violating the Helsinki Final Act made it impossible to agree upon new resolutions. The Final Document adopted there was very laconic (approximately 3 1/2 pages). Resolutions were of a formal rather than political character and they merely guaranteed that multilateral CSCE meetings would continue. During the period between Belgrade and Madrid, specialized consultations of experts were held: in 1978 in Montreux on the topic of the peaceful resolution of quarrels in Europe, in 1979 in La Valletta concerning cooperation in the Mediterranean area and within the next year, a CSCE scientific forum in Hamburg.

Expectations linked with the Madrid meeting are considerably more ambitious. After a long debate it was commonly recognized that, given the considerable

worsening of East-West relations, the results of the Madrid deliberations should represent a considerable impetus for improving the situation and for returning to the path of detente and cooperation. The organization of work (editorial groups) was subordinated to this concept, as was the distribution of time, which differed from the Belgrade meeting; preferences developed for debate on the new proposals and the preparation of an extensive, substantial document on this basis. The assumption was adopted that the Madrid meeting and its results would be a test of the permanence of the detente structures developed in the 1970's. Thus far, the progress of work in Madrid and the results of negotiations over a year confirm the suitability of this method.

The debate has concentrated around the key issues; its measurable achievement in the form of initial understandings on many issues is impressive. They include the concretion and forms of implementation of CSCE principles. Recommendations concerning economic and scientific-technical cooperation (the so-called second basket) have been approved in their entirety. Work has concluded on resolutions regulating cultural-educational cooperation; other problems from the "third basket" are nearing resolution--facilitating contact between people and cooperation in the area of information. In short, the final document is close to being finalized. This was formally expressed on 16 December 1981 in the second version of a draft composed by eight neutral and unaligned states, which prepared their own "synthesis" of what had been agreed. Almost 90 percent of the text engenders no reservations.

The definition of the zone of confidence- and security-building measures in Europe is the most important issue and is still open. It is the thorniest problem in the present stage of the Madrid negotiations; its successful resolution would mean a successful meeting. If a compromise were reached on this issue, the path would be clear for quickly overcoming the remaining controversies. What is the essence of the difficulties? The answer is not a simple one, since the differences in interests are considerably greater than would appear from a simple comparison of the positions of the sides taking part in the talks. The problem lies in the fact that deliberations are not taking place in a void. On the one hand, they reflect the relations between states; on the other, their goal is to influence the improvement of these relations and the development of the CSCE process. Within the framework of this process, a consensus is required in the adoption of new decisions; i.e., all 35 participants must agree. There must be progress in all chapters of the final act, and this progress must create a balance of interests among all the states, above all, a balance in the security of states.

The need to check the arms race, to reduce its intensity and to counteract the characteristic militarization of international relations places the military aspects of security in Europe in the center of the attention of the Madrid meeting. Already at the time of the Belgrade meeting, the idea was maturing that the range of this problem would require a special forum. The Vienna talks concern a reduction in armaments and armed forces in Central Europe alone and are conducted exclusively with the participation of members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO (without neutral states). At the same time, the prospects that they would be successfully concluded seem to be more than 3 or 4 years in the offing. In Madrid, five drafts expressing various concepts

for a Europe-wide conference devoted to issues of military detente have reached the deliberations table. The first was the Polish KOMIR [Conference on Military Detente and Disarmament in Europe] proposal (8 December 1980), which was supported by socialist countries; a day later, France announced a draft of a European Disarmament Conference [EKA], and during the next few days Sweden, Yugoslavia and Romania presented their proposals. A common element of all the drafts was the very idea of and need for a special forum, as well as the organization of work into stages. It was relatively quickly agreed that the first stage would be devoted to preparing confidence- and security-building measures in the military field.

The concept of confidence-building measures [CBM] in the context of the military aspects of security was first formulated in the Helsinki Final Act. The essence of these measures is to avert armed conflicts that may arise as the result of an accident, an error of judgment or a lack of communications. This is the preventive aspect; in a certain sense, it is passive. Of equal importance is the active function of these measures, which should foster the easing of tension and the building of an atmosphere of confidence, or at least the avoidance of mutual distrust. The political and psychological significance of these measures is universally acknowledged. Their military significance evokes greater controversies. In Madrid, these measures on confidence-building have been expanded to the sphere of security (CSBM [Confidence and Security-Building Measures]). This reflects the trend toward objectivization of the elements of security. The feeling of security depends equally on the lack of a threat (an objective factor) and on perception, which may exaggerate or reduce the state of the actual threat (subjective factor).

The "document concerning confidence-building measures and several aspects of security and disarmament," which is an integral part of the CSCE Final Act, defines five categories of measures: advance notification of large-scale maneuvers (more than 25,000 soldiers), notification of maneuvers taking place on a smaller scale, the exchange of observers, information concerning large troop movements as well as other confidence-building measures (visits of military delegations, personnel exchanges, contacts between military schools, etc.). It was agreed in Helsinki that all these resolutions would be applied on a voluntary basis, although the degree of political-moral obligation varies; e.g., the Final Act says that notification of large-scale maneuvers "will be given," while states "may provide information" concerning smaller-scale maneuvers. The exchange of observers takes place "voluntarily and on the basis of bilateral understanding, in the spirit of mutuality and good will." The resolution concerning notification of large troop movements is less binding. These issues are proposed to the states entirely for further consideration, considering the experience gained in the implementation of other measures. The zone of CBM application was defined regarding notification of large-scale maneuvers in such a way that it encompasses the territories of European states, as well as the sea waters and air space contiguous to Europe. In regard to European states whose territories extend beyond Europe (USSR and Turkey), it was agreed that they will notify the other CSCE participants only of those maneuvers to be conducted within a zone of 250 kilometers from their border with another European state.

Neutral and unaligned states submitted a draft in Madrid for expanding and developing confidence measures: notification of maneuvers in which 18,000 soldiers participate, 30 days before drills begin (prior recommendations stipulate notification of maneuvers of more than 25,000 soldiers, 21 days before drills begin). Their demands are similar to the proposals announced a year earlier by Leonid Brezhnev and concretized in the Warsaw Pact Declaration adopted in Berlin on 5 December 1979. The preparation of a special set of regulations for observers was also proposed. However, there was no general discussion on this topic, since attention was concentrated in Madrid on the precise preparation of a mandate for a conference devoted to the military aspects of security, within the framework of which a so-called second generation of confidence-building measures would likewise be approved. France made its approval of the conference mandate contingent upon the precise definition of four criteria, which should correspond to future CSBM's: they are to be militarily significant, politically binding, subject to control, and their zone of application should embrace the entire European continent "from the Atlantic to the Urals." The first three demands were relatively quickly approved. The stumbling block was the new definition of the zone of application of confidence-building measures in the military field.

The course of the debate seems to show that the Western states, particularly the United States, were not prepared for the eventuality that the USSR would agree to submit to the application of military confidence- and security-building measures throughout all its European territory, up to the Ural mountains. On 23 February 1981 at the 26th Party Congress, Leonid Brezhnev expressed such approval, to the extent that Western states would expand the zone of application of these measures correspondingly. Soviet compensatory demands concern the waters of the Atlantic and are based on the assumption that the continent is merely a part of the broader area of European security. The Western states expected the Soviet Union to reject the Western demand that the CBM zone be expanded to the Ural mountains, creating a pretext for the United States to strike the idea of a conference devoted to the military aspects of security from the agenda. The calling of such a forum would complicate the implementation of a program of stepped-up armaments.

This issue is viewed differently from the perspective of European states. They aim toward the opening of a zone in Europe in which the eruption of even a limited nuclear conflict would be ruled out. Under pressure by its allies, the United States formulated a so-called functional concept of the zone on 16 July 1981. In practice, this envisages a limited interpretation of the zone for the application of confidence-building measures in relation to resolutions adopted in Helsinki, since it excludes notification of independent sea and air maneuvers near Europe. This position crippled the attempt made by neutral countries to reconcile the Soviet demand (the geographic broadening of the zone east and west of the line established in Helsinki) and the American demand (including in the regime of the CBM zone only such sea activity as would "be a composite part of land activity requiring notification").

In November 1981, after a visit of L. Brezhnev to the FRG and the outlining of Soviet expectations in an interview for the weekly SPIEGEL, there was a

certain coalescing of positions. In this interview, Brezhnev stated that confidence-building measures should encompass "the islands contiguous to Europe, the adjacent sea and oceanic areas and the air space over them." In this way, speculation that the USSR wished to include a part or all of the territories of North America in the zone was dismissed (the correspondence of Gen S. Kozlov for POLITYKA, 1981, No 11 hints of such expectations). Several days later, President R. Reagan likewise stated that an understanding on the issue of a conference on the subject of CBM's was "within reach," but he did not explain what steps he was prepared to take to effect a compromise.

The Polish delegation played a vital role in overcoming this controversy blocking the work of the entire meeting. This resulted from the special interest Poland had in agreeing upon the conference mandate. Polish delegate Dr Andrzej Towpik stood alongside Gen K. Michailov of the Soviet delegation as a chief negotiator for socialist states in all groups and organs involved in approving a formula for a mandated conference on the military aspects of security.

Several attempts at a compromise solution led in mid-December 1981 to Austria's proposal, which was acknowledged as a foundation of a possible emergence from the impasse. As a result of many consultations with the Polish delegation, Austria also included in its formula the "principle of equal rights, equal security and the corresponding duties," as well as the demand to preserve "equilibrium and mutuality" and the guarantee that "the necessary concretion will be effected as a result of deliberations on the subject of confidence- and security-building measures at the conference itself," which expressed the essence of the USSR position. On the other hand, the Austrian draft likewise considered the primary aspect of the functional approach in the zone issue as represented by the United States. Given this state of affairs, on the day that the fourth round of the Madrid meeting concluded (18 December 1981), both sides agreed that the new draft of the complete document introduced by the eight neutral and unaligned states could be considered as the basis for finalizing the work of the Madrid meeting.

Today it is difficult to predict the results of the Madrid meeting, particularly in light of the dramatic turn when deliberations resumed in February. Nonetheless, it seems that a continuation of dialogue in general, and dialogue on issues of confidence and security in particular, is in the interest of Europe.

Aspect of Poland

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 2, 27 Feb 82 p 11

[Article by z]

[Text] The resumption of the Madrid CSCE meeting began according to the Western scenario. First, the NATO foreign affairs ministers arrived. Second, from the height of this summit (to emphasize the importance of the problem) they made a massive attack on martial law in Poland.

The formula of the "Western scenario" is clumsy enough to betray its further American variant, for which "passing judgment on Poland" was to be a pretext for annihilating the CSCE process. This variant turned out to be indigestible for the Europeans. Thus, the French minister of foreign affairs, Claude Cheysson, while sharply criticizing our country, also stated that he does not share the opinion of the American secretary of state, Alexander Haig, that further talks in Madrid have become impossible.

The PAP correspondent in Madrid, editor Jan Dziedzic, commented, "The meeting was not broken off, as considered. The United States, which encountered avowed opposition in Madrid among a considerable number of West European NATO countries, led by the FRG, did not break it off; the silent hopes that the socialist countries would take on the responsibility and, standing in solidarity with Poland, which was being attacked and criticized, would break off the meeting, were not realized."

Nor was the first item of the Swiss proposal recognized by neutral and unaligned countries; i.e., "to suspend deliberations immediately or when possible." Deliberations continue, in an "atmosphere of greater detente"--AFP [Associated Foreign Press?]-and they are of a more and more substantial nature. Hence, after the first week of deliberations the DPA reported, "The process of detente and cooperation in Europe, initiated in 1975 with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, passed through its next trial by fire during the Madrid CSCE meeting and, to all appearances, was temporarily rescued."

This does not mean that the meeting will not be broken off and postponed until the atmosphere in Europe is more favorable for detente.

Nor does it mean that the speakers in Madrid have abandoned criticism of martial law in Poland for the duration of the meeting. However, one can hope that the arguments used in Madrid by the Polish delegate, Deputy Minister Jozef Wiejacz, will have some softening effect. He said, "The domestic problems of Poland belong to the exclusive competence of the Polish state. Debate on the subject of the so-called Polish problem can only lead to the worsening of the situation in Europe. It will harm the CSCE process and can only complicate the search for understanding and compromise here in Madrid and elsewhere." Further, "it is already high time that all who in Madrid and beyond, are trying to play the so-called Polish card, realize that despite pressure from without and economic restrictions, Poland will someday overcome its crisis. But if our bilateral relations are damaged, they will remain so for a long time, especially with regard to those taking advantage of our national tragedy for their own dark political machinations. Let us not create new obstacles of this sort. This lamentable campaign must be halted."

In Madrid--and not only in Madrid--it is thus a question both of multilateral relations in Europe and our relations with particular states. The stakes are high and they cause us to reflect.

8536

CSO: 2600/404

ALTERNATE MILITARY SERVICE IN FIRE DEPARTMENTS DISCUSSED

Warsaw STARZAK in Polish No 1, 1-15 Jan 82 p 21

[Text] For the past several years there's been a possibility of using alternate military service in Fire Departments thus creating important links in the Civil Defense system of the nation.

In order to get a picture of the education process of conscripts we turned to the 7th Unit of the Regular Fire Department in Warsaw. There we found several fireman who are participating in alternate military service. They are actually at the specialized training stage. Three months ago they were becoming acquainted with the secrets of fire fighting at the Training Center for Fire Fighting of the Civil Command of the Fire Departments.

There they gained fundamental knowledge and first-hand experience. During service at a unit they are now perfecting their specialized skills necessary in fire fighting and life saving. The majority of conscripts undergo training of the candidates. During this period they have the opportunity to get to know in detail their future occupation and undergo tests to determine their physio-psychological characteristics.

In the words of the commandant of the local unit--Lieutenant Colonel Leszek Kazmierski, serving alternate military service here--the fireman do not make any concessions to their friends who joined the fire department through the normal channels. It also needs to be added that the education of the conscripts does not differ from the regular program. The majority of the firemen possess average technical or professional qualifications. Service in a fire department affords them additional opportunities for developing technical knowledge or individual interests since we cannot complain of lack of varied equipment.

The firemen of this department to date have participated in many fire fights, both large and small. They took part in extinguishing a dangerous fire at the warehouses of the Commercial Centre for the Oil Industry in Mosciskach (metropolitan province) and extinguishing a shaft in Karlina where a section under the command of Andrzej Bialasiewicz operated a large output motor pump. The gained knowledge and experience pays off today.

The fulfillment of the alternate military service by conscripts in fire departments benefits not only the candidates themselves in terms of learning an occupation, but it also significantly benefits the nation because those trained in the profession do not abandon fire fighting after finishing their alternate military service. Instead they make up the reserve personnel for militarized fire departments. It frequently happens that they remain in the profession. An example of this is Jan Zbrzezny--a driver who 9 years ago did his military service at this station.

Besides combat training and participating in fire fighting, members of this unit participate in a wide variety of preventive activities. In a work, they do not lack work since Warsaw, where they operate, is a very industrialized area.

9820

CSO: 2600/449

BRIEFS

NEW RECTOR--By decision of the minister of culture and art, Prof Juliusz Bursze has been appointed as rector of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, where he is a lecturer and eminent specialist in the field of painting preservation. Prof Bursze was given the certificate of appointment by Deputy Minister of Culture and Art Eugeniusz Mielcarek at a 20 March meeting with the directorial cadre of the Academy of Fine Arts. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Mar 82 p 2]

WORKING STUDENTS' DEMANDS--Last Saturday and Sunday [20-21 March] the National Council of Working Students of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth held deliberations in Warsaw. The situation among working students was evaluated, with attention paid to the need for amendments to the Council of Ministers draft resolution concerning the principles and procedure for improving the qualifications of employees in socialized work places, and concerning the rights and duties of the latter. During the discussion there was postulated i.a. the need to specify the minimum benefits to which an employee who begins studies is entitled. The council members proposed that from the moment studies are begun, the employee and the work place, as the two parties, have concluded an agreement on mutual rights and duties during the period of the employee's studies and after their completion. The council decided to make recommendations on the draft resolution in the following ministries: Wages, Labor and Social Affairs; Science, Higher Schools and Technology; Education and Upbringing, as well as in the Sejm Commission for Science and Technological Progress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Mar 82 p 2]

NEW SCOUT DEPUTY COMMANDER--There have been changes in the Headquarters of the Polish Scout Union. In connection with his assumption of work on the editorial staff of the weekly MOTYWY, Piotr Lapa has resigned as deputy commander-in-chief of the Polish Scout Union. In his place the Supreme Council has appointed Julian Nuckowski, a scientific employee at Warsaw University. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Mar 82 p 2]

CSO: 2600/481

PRESENT-DAY DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 2, 20 Jan 82 pp 24-27

[Article by Constantin Florea: "Development of the Communist Movement in the Present Stage"]

[Text] Among all the present-day revolutionary and progressive forces, a particularly important part is played by the communist and labor parties as promoters of the peoples' vital interests. By virtue of its advanced conception of the world and life, the ideals of national freedom and social justice and international collaboration and peace that it consistently promotes, and its entire activity in constant service of the nations' basic aspirations, the communist and labor movement is the most advanced revolutionary political force in the modern world. The communist parties are in the front ranks of the social and national liberation movements and the class battles against exploitation and oppression, asserting themselves more and more as organizers of the advanced social forces in the struggle for progress, a better life, abolition of the imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policy, armaments, wars, force, hegemony and dictation, and for new, truly democratic relations among all peoples of the world and preservation of peace.

As government parties, the communist parties in the socialist countries are leading the struggle of the working class and their peoples for successful construction of the new society, socioeconomic development, and improvement of the masses' material and cultural living standard, constantly increasing their efforts to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system in practice by actual facts and achievements. Meanwhile the communist parties in some developed capitalist countries are enhancing their political influence and prestige by better adapting themselves to the national realities and relating their activity more closely to the masses' aspirations. The communists have made an active contribution to the recent successes of the socialist and democratic forces of the left in the presidential, parliamentary or local elections in various West European countries, in some of which they are now participating in government. We are also seeing a growth and maturing of the communist revolutionary movement in a number of developing countries. In some of the new sovereign states the democratic, anti-imperialist government parties are becoming revolutionary parties declaring their adherence to the principles of scientific socialism.

To be sure the communist movement is not evolving in a "triumphal march" or developing in a "constantly rising" line with no difficulties or obstacles. The advance of the

revolutionary parties is actually an extremely complex dialectical process wherein the generally rising historical development, victories and successes are accompanied in some periods by fluctuations, zigzags and sometimes even by defeats or temporary setbacks. And as we know the communist parties' influence does not "cover" all areas and countries of the world uniformly, and it is still limited in various developed capitalist countries or developing ones. This is due to objective and subjective reasons and to both internal and international factors, such as the difficult illegal or semilegal conditions under which many communist parties have to operate; some parties' insufficient study of the particular national conditions in their countries, of the new phenomena and trends in the evolution of contemporary capitalism and, in general, of the changes taking place in the world, and the resulting delays in developing strategies suited to the new historical conditions and an approach to the problems in the light of outmoded theories, conceptions and evaluations of experience; the bad effect of the difficulties and crisis situations in some socialist countries, the political and, unfortunately, even military conflicts among some of those countries, the split in the communist movement between parties with great political influence, etc. Of course in addition to these general reasons there are also factors characteristic of a given country or a given party.

The major interests of the revolutionary movement call for an approach to these situations in a critical spirit with courage, clarity and political responsibility but also with optimism and confidence in every communist party's full ability to overcome any difficulties and obstacles with its own forces, to cope successfully with new and highly complex situations, and to bring its historic mission to fulfillment.

In the effort to distract attention from the seriously aggravated crisis of the capitalist system, to check the rise of the revolutionary and progressive forces, and to vitiate the influence of socialist ideas, some Western ideologues are trying to establish the idea of a so-called "crisis" of Marxism and the communist movement. But it is clear that the problems arising in the constant growth and maturing of the communist movement and its adjustment to the conditions and demands of the current historical period can by no means invalidate its fundamental principles and policies (the validity of which is fully proved by experience) nor detract in any way from the great successes of the revolutionary parties and the forces of socialism. There is no question that it is not the dialectical-materialist and historical revolutionary conception that is in a crisis, nor the communist and labor movement, but merely some old and outmoded theoretical views and principles, some unsuitable combat methods valid in other periods but no longer justified under present conditions, the old type of relations among parties based on inequality and the existence of a supernational administrative center, and some anachronistic practices in the conduct of those relations.

The growing influence of the revolutionary parties is not due to any chance factors but on the contrary results from an objective, regular process and the action of some essential, permanent factors basic to mankind's development. Analysis of the historical laws and predominant trends of human evolution confirms the conclusion in the RCP Program that in the future "The communist and labor parties' role in organization and management of the revolutionary struggles for social reform, a new international order and a lasting peace will be increased even further."

Revolutionary Theory and New Social Requirements

The communist movement is faced today with situations qualitatively different from other historical periods and even from the period following World War II, with new

and extremely complex phenomena both national and international, and with many highly diverse and unprecedented problems due to the great processes of social and national liberation that changed the face of the world, the extremely contradictory course of international affairs, and the appearance and aggravation of some global problems affecting all countries and peoples and all mankind. It might be said that never in their history have the communist parties been confronted with such diverse, complicated and sometimes even paradoxical situations and phenomena almost unthinkable a few decades ago.

The revolutionary parties' adequate adjustment to the new conditions requires scientific, in-depth analysis of the facts, a clear and bold approach to the current trends and phenomena, overcoming the outmoded views and principles in theory and practice, and constant enrichment of the revolutionary theory with principles and conclusions based upon contemporary social-political experience. The realities of the present period and the markedly greater extent, complexity and diversity of the revolutionary process demand new courses of action, a new, dynamic and creative approach to the problems, and liberation of political thought from any subjectivism, simplistic cursorness, or any sectarian or conservative influences. Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We must not look in the classics to see whether or not something was said about the phenomena of today. To think that way means to act dogmatically, to be conservative instead of revolutionary, and to lag behind social development. To be revolutionary you must look ahead, act in the spirit of the new gains in human knowledge in all fields, understand the new social demands and the aspirations of the working masses and the entire people, act purposefully in the lead of the masses by organizing and managing their work and their struggle, and find the ways to bring about the development of society and its advance toward communism!"

The revolutionary theory is nothing concluded or finished, nor any "set of laws" laid down once and for all, nor a collection of principles valid anywhere at any time. On the contrary, it is only a starting point to be further developed in keeping with the practical lessons of history, the new socioeconomic realities, and the new advances in science and human knowledge. Therefore it is a good thing that more and more communist parties are now pointing out that under the new historical conditions to remain faithful to scientific socialism means to understand at every stage of the struggle what differs from the preceding stage and what is new and original, to analyze the evolution of the realities as thoroughly as possible, to condemn any routine or inflexible attitude, and to formulate a principled criticism of historically outmoded ideas and objectives, giving new answers to the new problems.

Of course creative development of the revolutionary theory does not mean discarding all that has been done before and starting from scratch. As the RCP says, it does not mean opposing some parties to others or opposing the new order the socialist countries are building under their particular conditions to the socialism to be built in the future in other countries, nor does it mean preparing "countermodels" for creating the new order in opposition to the old "models."

The RCP considers it a major obligation of every communist party and the communist movement as a whole to help renovate and further enrich the revolutionary theory and to help relate it as closely as possible to the scientific socialism of contemporary social-political experience. That is the only way the communist and labor parties can further develop, actively influencing the present evolution, or play their part as a motive force of revolutionary transformation of the world, or take the lead in the struggle for a lasting peace and widespread international collaboration.

New Strategic and Tactical Options

The communist and labor parties are operating under socioeconomic and historical conditions that differ widely from one country to another and are constantly faced with many particular problems. Therefore independent development of its political policy and revolutionary strategy and tactics according to the facts of the respective country is an inalienable attribute of each communist party, which is directly responsible to the working class, the masses of workers, and the people of the respective country.

Important theoretical and practical problems are now facing the communist parties in the socialist countries, which are in a very complex period of the process of building the new social order. It is well known that the peoples of those countries have made great progress in socialist construction, in national economic development, in improving the masses' material and cultural living standard, and in establishing and developing better social relations in a relatively brief historical period and in spite of the onerous legacy of the old society and all the defects and difficulties that have developed in one country or another.

Analysis of the stage reached by the socialist countries reveals some new problems that are sometimes more difficult and complicated than those of the socialist revolution, and their treatment involves the qualitative aspect of social development, some reportioning in economic development, improvement of social activity, and satisfaction of some new and greatly increased demands upon all activities. It is also well known that in the last few years some socialist countries have experienced certain negative phenomena in their socioeconomic development due to the effects of the world economic and energy crisis, as well as some lags in securing their technical-material resources. Under these circumstances the communist parties have increased their efforts to better solve some major problems of socialist and communist construction and devised programs and measures to further develop the economies, improve social relations and social management, enhance socialist democracy, and improve the masses' material and cultural living standard.

Constant development of the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party in building the new order is essential to the solution of all these problems. In speaking of the ways and means of exercising the Communist Party's political leadership, the RCP secretary general pointed out that it consists of constantly studying the socioeconomic phenomena in the light of the dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception, preparing revolutionary strategy and tactics, and building socialism and communism, always proceeding "from careful study of the contradictions, what is old and should be discarded and what is new and should be encouraged, and from thorough analysis of the historical (both national and international) socioeconomic phenomena and realities, drawing the right conclusions for each stage of development."

The confrontation with the new historical realities and conditions also includes the activities of the communist parties in the capitalist countries against the background of the seriously aggravated crisis of the system founded upon exploitation and oppression. The revolutionary parties in those countries are militating for preparation and application of solutions that will permit a real escape from the crisis and resolution of the growing difficulties facing the working class and broad masses of workers. The anticrisis programs they have devised for that purpose involve progressive changes in all economic, social and political activities to bring about full employment of the labor force, recovery of the economy, defense and development of the democratic rights

and freedoms, effective opposition to terrorism and the fascist and neoracist organizations and trends, consolidation of national sovereignty and independence, and promotion of a policy of detente, disarmament and peace.

Moreover the struggle with the consequences of the crisis is inseparable from the struggle for progress and radical democratic changes that will limit and eliminate the domination of the big monopolies and thus prepare the way for socialism. "Re-thinking" the old patterns of action and efforts to find ways and means of advancing on the path of democracy and progress toward socialism in keeping with the actual facts and particular conditions of a given country have been essential features of the activity of more and more communist parties in the countries of Western Europe and other continents in recent years.

The new strategic and tactical options adopted in the 1970's by the communist parties in some developed capitalist countries include objectives, ways and means characteristic of each country, but they are also distinguished by a number of common characteristics such as emphasis upon achievement of socialism in a democratic, peaceful way without armed conflict, with the qualification that this way involves a parliamentary struggle but also an extraparliamentary, mass struggle; the idea that socialism and democracy are in complete unity while expansion and consolidation of democracy are basic requirements for revolutionary social reform; understanding of the fact that transition to socialism requires the agreement of the great majority of the people as well as emphasis upon formation of the widest possible alliances that will go beyond the traditional worker-peasant alliance to include all democratic and progressive forces, all those interested in such changes, etc. In the course of clarifying and crystallizing these strategic and tactical options (a process still far from complete) new theoretical concepts are developed, older ideas are abandoned, and investigations, discussions and arguments take place concerning the relationship between the objective laws and the particular forms they take, the present-day significance of the aims of socialism, the very concept of socialism, etc.

Historical experience proves that new peoples' transition to socialism takes place in a great and increasingly pronounced diversity of forms and ways because of the profound differences in economic, social and national development, historical past, and the institutions that exist in a given country. But it is very important to understand that the transition to socialism is the result of the operation of the objective laws and the efforts of the revolutionary and progressive forces in each country, involving rejection of exported revolution as well as exported counterrevolution in any form. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Any people has the right to free socioeconomic development and to create the desired social order with no outside interference. And experience has proved that there are and will be no forces in the world that can stop the peoples in their triumphal march toward socialism and communism."

For a Policy of Extensive Alliances

In the struggle for social reform it is critically important for the communist parties to pursue a policy of extensive alliances in keeping with the great changes in the last few decades in the nature of the various social categories, strata and classes and of the political parties, organizations and movements of various persuasions and trends. There are wide and diverse social forces in the capitalist countries today that favor a break with the old state of things in society and in international affairs. We are seeing the emergence of new forms of opposition to monopolies and capitalism and the development of widespread mass movements (of women and youth, ecological etc.) which used to be either undefined as distinct, independent forces or on the

"periphery" of the social confrontations. The movements against the armaments race and in favor of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, and the preservation and consolidation of peace have become widespread in various capitalist countries.

Accordingly the forces in favor of democratic, progressive social reform go far beyond the working class in the ordinary sense of the term. They include increasingly broad social strata and categories as well as democratic, progressive revolutionary trends and movements, both organized and unorganized. New and unprecedented situations have arisen wherein many political forces act together or interact: The communist parties share the great battle for social reform with other political units and combine their efforts with those of many other forces and movements serving the aims of development of democracy and further social progress. It is becoming increasingly clear that the communist parties cannot assume the sole responsibility for fundamental changes and a break with the old society, which is historically outmoded but still has resources of adaptability. Elimination of any sectarian trends, which did great harm to the revolutionary movement in the past, and formation of new relations between the communist parties and other political forces committed to or objectively interested in the great struggle for national independence, democracy, peace and progress are therefore a most urgent necessity. Under these circumstances it is quite natural that the documents of the communist parties in various capitalist countries increasingly emphasize the need of broad receptiveness to the masses of the whole population affected by crises, social discrepancies and the policy of big monopolies and point out that the revolutionary and democratic process makes it necessary to rise above the "hegemonism" of any given political unit and to try to achieve a consensus of the parties of the working class as well as other parties advocating a new course of socioeconomic development and independence, peace and progress.

In the struggle for democracy, peace and socialism it is fundamentally important to achieve unity and collaboration among communists, socialists, and social-democrats, to overcome the mutual distrust and hostility inherited from the past, and to emphasize the factors that unite the parties of the working class and can contribute to a broad political agreement and their eventual historical reconciliation. Rapprochement between communists and socialists is particularly difficult and has many obstacles to overcome in its evolution. But however great those difficulties are, they must not interfere with the efforts to achieve unity and collaboration among all working class parties above and beyond any theoretical or ideological differences. Experience shows that this is quite possible and that, given the necessary political will, the communists and socialists can act in close unity as equal partners in various fields of social activity, including parliaments and governments, on behalf of the working class and their peoples.

Unification of the advanced social and political forces differs in its aims and methods from one stage of the revolutionary process to another and from one country to another. It would be unrealistic to believe that the systems of alliances recommended for a democratic and progressive development are easily accomplished, for they require a procedure fraught with obstacles. But that does not in the least invalidate the conclusion that only the broadest possible social and political alliances, only a lasting unity among all national and international revolutionary and democratic forces, and only the purposeful union of the working masses, the progressive forces of society and the peoples can bring about the solution of the social problems for the benefit of the masses, the defense of democracy and civil rights and freedoms, and the triumph of the struggle for national liberation and the revolutionary struggle for progress and a better life, for the revolutionary, socialist transformation of the world, and for peace on our planet.

Peace Essential to the Revolutionary Struggle

The communist and labor parties are operating today under highly complex international conditions characterized by an acute worldwide confrontation between diametrically opposed trends: On the one hand there is the accentuated policy of force and war, maintenance and reallocation of the spheres of influence, escalation of armaments, and aggravated contradictions among various states and groups of states, and on the other there is the intensified struggle of the peoples against the imperialist and colonial policy and on behalf of preservation of national sovereignty and independence and maintenance and consolidation of peace. This situation confronts the communist and labor movement with great and highly critical tasks.

The development of the current communist movement is characterized, among other things, by its increasing strong and active commitment to solve the great problems of mankind, namely securing peace, stopping the armaments race, accomplishing general and especially nuclear disarmament, building lasting security in Europe and the whole world, eliminating underdevelopment, establishing a new worldwide economic order, abolishing the imperialist policy of force and dictation with redivision of the world into spheres of influence and domination, and establishing new relations among states based on equality, mutual respect, and every people's right to self-determination without outside interference. These contemporary global problems are not solely of a "class," socialist (in the narrow sense of the word) character but generally democratic. But their existence and solution affect all peoples, all mankind, and the very fate of civilization, since it is obvious that as exponents of the vital interests of the working class and revolutionary forces everywhere the communist parties have the heavy responsibility of taking a firm stand in the first ranks of the battle for their democratic solution. The more actively the revolutionary parties (each one and the communist movement as a whole) participate in discussion of the economic, political, social and other problems facing all peoples of the world today, the more they will contribute to the solution of those problems, the more socialism will influence the course of international affairs and all contemporary development, and the greater will be the communist and labor parties' power of attraction, prestige and authority.

Preventing another world war, maintaining and consolidating peace, and achieving disarmament are now particularly important to the success of the revolutionary struggle. The principle that socialism and peace are inseparable and that a calm atmosphere of security and peace is critical to a free, worthy and prosperous future for all humanity is proving more valid than ever. It may be said that peace is the international prerequisite for continuing and intensifying the revolutionary process, and its maintenance and consolidation are now the main objectives of the communist and labor parties and all revolutionary and progressive forces.

As we know Marxist literature widely circulated the theory for a long time that since the first socialist state in the world was formed after World War I, and socialism succeeded in other states after World War II, a third world war could only result in the total collapse of capitalism. This theory (whose remnants are still to be found today in some foreign works and studies) has nothing in common with the current facts of the worldwide democratic and revolutionary process or with the real prospects and conditions for the triumph of socialism throughout the world. The struggle for socialism cannot be associated in any way today with wars or world conflicts today. A nuclear war would cause incalculable damage and vast losses to mankind, making mankind's very existence doubtful to say nothing of any prospects of progress. Detente and peace are in the interest of the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist

forces, while discord and the policy of armaments serve the reactionary forces hostile to freedom, progress and peace.

The historic importance of the RCP's theories and judgments as to the necessity of a resolute struggle to safeguard and consolidate peace is even more clear in this light, as well as the proposals of Nicolae Ceausescu and socialist Rumania to stop the armaments race and achieve disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament.

Need of Promoting a New Kind of Unity

The communist movement's present developmental stage is characterized by new phenomena and trends in the relations among the revolutionary parties, the character and principles governing those relations, and the nature and extent of international solidarity in the world of today. A new kind of unity of the communist movement is gradually emerging in the struggle with the old concepts and practices and, as the RCP keeps pointing out, this unity is to be firmly rooted in all parties' fully equal rights, in each party's right to determine its political policy independently, as well as its revolutionary strategy and tactics, with no outside interference, in mutual aid, collaboration and solidarity, and in full confidence in every party's ability to overcome any difficulties or obstacles by its own forces and to secure the success of the revolution and socialist construction.

The communist and labor movement's history proves that outmoded relations and disregard of socialist principles have always seriously harmed international solidarity, the growth of socialism's prestige and influence, and the communist parties' development. The present stage of the revolutionary process, the pronounced diversity of the conditions under which the communist movement operates and its increasing maturity require reorganization of relations among the communist parties, a firm and complete break with the old methods of centralization and subordination, and creation of a new kind of unity.

But alongside the stronger assertion of the tendency to pursue an independent policy on the part of the communist parties in various countries and to base relations among parties upon equality and mutual esteem and respect, tendencies also persist today toward interference by some parties in other parties' internal affairs, violation of equality of rights, and hegemonism. Some parties are still under pressure to adopt views and positions that they consider unsuited to the conditions in their countries. The practice is not yet fully established of settling differences of opinion and disagreements or any problems arising in interparty relations by friendly discussions between parties and their leaders in a spirit of mutual esteem and respect. And some foreign authors still question the principle of the parties' independence, which is, as it were, a violation of the standards of solidarity and the revolutionary struggle and even represents a so-called outmoded formula, and that too in spite of all the lessons of history and the entire experience acquired by the communist and labor movement, which forcefully brings out the truth that strict observance of the revolutionary parties' independence of thought and action is vital to the further consolidation of every communist party and to the successful performance of its historic role of strengthening international solidarity.

All this proves that the new kind of unity in the communist movement does not arise spontaneously by itself. It is not a matter of a simple, smooth evolution by any means but on the contrary a process that must overcome quite a few obstacles and some anachronistic ideas, practices and methods. There are increasingly favorable

conditions now for promoting new and better relations in the communist movement, and they should be used to secure the success of the new principles for relations.

Further strengthening the communist parties' solidarity and unity on a new basis is essential to the struggle for progress and peace and a factor of importance to present-day social development. Meanwhile the conclusion is clear that the particular urgency and seriousness of the problems facing mankind today, especially the necessity of preserving peace, and the recent intense discord in international relations demand a policy of widespread international solidarity. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "It is more necessary than ever to strengthen solidarity and collaboration among all progressive, anti-imperialist forces and among all peoples in favor of disarmament and peace. Experience demonstrates more and more emphatically the peoples' invincible power to stop the armaments race and the policy of discord and to bring about collaboration and peace.

In securing the success of the Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism the RCP is fulfilling its highest obligation to its own people as well as its primary obligation to the communist and labor movement and to the progressive and democratic forces everywhere. In its entire activity, under the leadership of its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, the RCP actively contributes to the creative development of the revolutionary theory, to the analysis of the new problems facing the communist movement and international life, to the promotion of a new and better kind of relations among the communist and labor parties, and to stronger unity and solidarity among all the revolutionary and progressive forces. In the RCP the communist parties, the democratic forces, and the peoples of the whole world have had and will continue to have an active and reliable revolutionary detachment resolved to raise Romania to new levels of socialist civilization and to devote its entire energies to fulfilling the ideals of freedom, progress, independence and peace of all peoples of the world.

5186

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LAW ON LOCAL TAXES, FEES PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 115, 29 Dec 81 pp 1-4

[Law No 25 of 23 December 1981 on Local Taxes and Fees]

[Text] Socialist Republic of Romania

On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Law No 25 of 23 December 1981 on Local Taxes and Fees.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 29 December 1981.

Law
on Local Taxes and Fees

In accordance with the Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism, the state allocates every year large amounts of funds for the balanced development of all urban and rural localities at a steady rate, with a view to providing better working, housing and living conditions for all citizens.

In addition, through the payment of local taxes and fees, the economic units, the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, and the population participate in the creation of the financial resources needed for the economic and social development of each locality.

The participation of the population and the socialist units in the formation of the monetary funds needed for these objectives, in conformity with the principles of socialist ethics and equity, represents at the same time a form of manifestation of the relations of the population and the socialist units with the state and an expression of their concern for the fulfillment by the state of its functions and obligations.

With a view to improvement in the legal framework concerning the setting and collection of local taxes and fees that would help to strengthen the economic and financial self-administration and the self-financing of the municipalities, cities and

communes, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts the present law.

Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. Local taxes and fees constitute a means of participation by the citizens, the socialist units and other juristic persons in the self-administration and self-financing of the localities, in the formation of the monetary funds needed for financing the objectives and actions provided in the sole national plan for economic and social development.

Article 2. The monetary funds constituted from local taxes and fees are utilized to achieve objectives and actions from which the citizens and the socialist units benefit directly.

In their capacity of owners of the means of production and producers and beneficiaries of the material values, the working people participate in the implementation of the party's and state's policy of multilateral development of all localities, in the raising of their degree of civilization, in the utilization of material and monetary funds with maximum efficiency, in the expenditure of public funds with a thrifty sense, in the preservation of the integrity of public property and in the elimination of any forms of waste.

The participation of the citizens--in the process of self-management--in the creation and utilization of the funds needed for the municipal-administrative development of the localities strengthens the civic responsibility for the general needs of society and constitutes their contribution to repaying to society a part of the expenditures made, from which the citizens benefit directly.

Article 3. Local taxes and fees are utilized, in accordance with the law, to increase the degree of municipal-administrative equipping of all localities, to extend and modernize roads, to increase the number of places in nurseries and kindergartens and to develop the system of education, health, culture and art, thus providing for the continual improvement of the living and working conditions of the whole populace.

Article 4. Local taxes and fees, as a source of revenue for the budgets of the municipalities, the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, the cities and the communes, stimulate the responsibility of the local bodies in utilizing their own funds, so that this revenue may contribute to the development of all localities of the country at a steady rate, in accordance with the provisions of the sole national plan for economic and social development.

Article 5. The local taxes and fees that are paid by the cooperative and state socialist units and by physical and juristic persons other than socialist units are those regulated by means of the present law, namely:

- a) The tax on buildings;
- b) The tax on land in municipalities and cities;
- c) Fees for means of transportation;

- d) Fees for the use of public places of sale;
- e) Fees for the issuing of permits in the field of construction;
- f) Fees for the use of means of publicity, billposting and advertising;
- g) The fee for staying in health resorts;
- h) The fee for visiting museums, memorial houses and historical, architectural and archeological monuments;
- i) The fee for the possession of dog.

Article 6. The level of the tax rates and of the local fees, the terms of payment, and the manner of setting and collecting them are established by means of a decree of the State Council.

Article 7. The level of the tax rates and the fees is revised at least once every 5 years, in relation to the general development of the municipal-administrative activity, the expansion and modernization of the road system, the growth of the degree of urbanization, the diversification of the services performed for the population and other specific elements and in relation to the growth of the monetary incomes of the population.

Chapter II The Tax on Buildings

Article 8. Building owned by physical persons and by juristic persons other than socialist units, state-owned buildings under the administration of the state economic units, and buildings in the use or, as the case may be, the possession of the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, with the exception of those provided by law, are subject to the tax on buildings, regardless of the place where they are located and their purpose.

Article 9. The tax on buildings owned by physical persons is calculated by applying tax rates to the insurance value through the effect of the law, determined in accordance with the legal standards in force.

The tax on buildings belonging to the cooperative and state economic units and the other public organizations is determined by applying the tax rates to the inventory value of the buildings subject to the payment of this tax.

Article 10. The rates of tax on buildings are set varyingly according to the purpose of the buildings, the place where they are located and the category of the payers--socialist units, physical persons and juristic persons other than socialist units.

Article 11. In the case of personally owned dwellings located in urban areas, for the rooms that exceed the number of family members and fit within the limits provided by Law No 5/1973 on the Administration of the Housing Supply and the Regulation of Relations Between Landlords and Tenants, increased tax rates are applied.

The rooms that exceed the housing needs of the owner and his family, determined in accordance with Law No 5/1973, will be rented by the owner to other persons, and in

the case in which he does not rent them, the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils can rent them to entitled persons, through specialized units for administering and renting the state housing supply.

The incomes obtained from renting will be taxed in accordance with the legal provisions, without the application of the increase in the tax rates for the rooms rented.

Article 12. For buildings located in rural localities that pass into the category of cities, the rate of tax on buildings corresponding to the new category of locality is applied beginning on 1 January of the year after this change.

Chapter III The Land Tax

Article 13. Land owned by physical persons, state-owned land under the administration of the state economic units, land owned by the cooperative organizations, the other public organizations, and juristic persons other than socialist units, and land put in use, located in municipalities and cities and in their component localities, are subject to the tax in conformity with the provisions of the present law.

The tax is set in a fixed sum per square meter, varying according to municipalities and cities.

Article 14. Land located in component localities with an agricultural character within municipalities and cities, established in accordance with the law, land located in villages that belong to municipalities and cities, and land in suburban communes are subject to the tax provided by Law No 2/1977 on the Agricultural Tax.

Article 15. The tax on land located in cities that pass into the category of municipalities or in communes that pass into the category of cities, as the case may be, is changed in accordance with the new status of the locality in which the land is located, beginning on 1 January of the year after the one in which this change occurred.

Article 16. The land tax mentioned in Article 13 does not apply to land for which the fees for the use of state-owned land or the annual fees provided by law are paid.

Article 17. Land unfit for construction or cultivation, that used for recreation or sports, firing ranges, ports, airports and other such, and land that serves tax-exempt buildings are not subject to the land tax.

Chapter IV Fees for Means of Transportation

Article 18. Means of transportation with mechanical traction and means of water transportation owned by physical persons and by juristic persons other than socialist units are subject to an annual fee under the conditions of the present law.

Article 19. The fee for means of transportation with mechanical traction are set in accordance with the cylinder displacement of the motor. The fee for means of water transportation are set varyingly, according to the type of means of transportation.

Chapter V

Fees for the Use of Public Places of Sale

Article 20. Physical persons, the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, and juristic persons other than state socialist units pay a daily fee for the use of public places of sale in municipalities, cities and communes.

The fee for the use of public places of sale is set varyingly, in relation to the degree of equipping of the spaces put at the disposal of the producers, the nature of the products sold, the age and species of the animals brought for sale, the services performed for the population, and the area occupied.

For the occupation of sidewalks and streets in municipalities and cities by physical persons and by juristic persons other than socialist units, with a view to the storage of various materials, the sale of products or the performance of services, or for the execution of construction work, as the case may be, a daily fee is proportion to the area occupied is owed.

Article 21. The executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest will take steps to improve and diversify the services performed for producers in markets, fairs and stockyards by providing coveralls, scales, showcases, weighing machines, baskets, handcarts, storage and lodging spaces and other such, on the basis of rates, set in accordance with the law, that would ensure the self-financing of the respective activity and a suitable profitability.

Chapter VI

Fees for the Issuing of Permits in the Field of Construction

Article 22. The permits issued, in accordance with the law, to physical persons and to juristic persons other than socialist units, for the construction, transformation, modification, demolition, outfitting and repair of constructions and installations, the alignment of constructions, the division of land and constructions or the transfer of constructions, the issuing of copies of construction plans or of other plans, technical advice, topographic surveys, parcelling and staking-out of land, the issuing of permits for takeover and division of land by heirs, and other permits in this field are subject to fees, varying according to the value of the constructions or installations, the area of the land, and the nature of the services performed.

For extending, under the conditions of the law, the validity of the permits, the fee is 25 percent of the fee due on the issuing of the permit.

Article 23. For the performance of work that has as an object topographic surveys or measurements requested by physical or juristic persons other than socialist units, fees varying according to the nature of the service performed are owed.

Chapter VII

Fees for the Use of Means of Publicity, Billposting and Advertising

Article 24. Physical persons and juristic persons other than socialist units that use means of publicity in the form of billposting and advertising owe a fee in a fixed sum for each copy, varying according to the dimensions of the posters, the printed advertisements, the store windows and the billboards made of any material.

For publicity through the press, the fee is levied in a percentage quota applied to the sum collected by the organ of the press.

Chapter VIII The Fee for Staying in Health Resorts

Article 25. For staying in health resorts for a duration of more than 48 hours, physical persons over 16 years of age owe a fixed fee set for the whole duration of the stay in the respective resort.

For pupils and students the fee is reduced by 50 percent.

Article 26. The fee for staying in health resorts is not owed in the case of lodgings in tourist chalets outside the health resorts, as well as by persons who have their residence in these localities, those on business trips, and pupils and students in practical training, in rest camps or in school activities.

Chapter IX The Fee for Visiting Museums, Memorial Houses and Historical, Architectural and Archeological Monuments

Article 27. For visiting museums, memorial houses and historical, architectural and archeological monuments, classified as such according to law, visitation fees are set by the Council for Socialist Culture and Education.

The visitation fees are set varyingly according to the artistic, historical and architectural value of the respective facilities.

Article 28. Pupils, students, and military personnel on active duty who visit historical, architectural and archeological monuments in groups organized by educational institutions or military units do not owe the fee for visiting these facilities. For visiting museums and memorial houses, the fee is reduced by 50 percent.

The Council for Socialist Culture and Education will be able to assign 1 day per week on which the fees for visiting museums, memorial houses and historical, architectural and archeological monuments will be reduced by up to 50 percent.

Chapter X The Fee for the Possession of Dogs

Article 29. Physical persons residing in rural or urban localities who possess more than one watchdog per household and physical persons who possess pet and hunting dogs pay an annual fee varying according to the number of dogs possessed and the purpose for which they are used.

The possession and raising of dogs in apartments located in blocks of dwellings or in buildings with many apartments will be able to be done only with the approval of the tenants' association.

Chapter XI Common and Final Provisions

Article 30. The state economic units, the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, physical persons, and juristic persons other than socialist units are obligated to submit tax statements to the financial bodies of the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, as the case may be, within 15 days after the date of acquisition of the goods subject to taxation or the date on which changes occurred that lead to the modification of the tax or fee owed.

Article 31. Objections regarding the incorrect setting or levying of the taxes and fees regulated by means of the present law can be made at the financial body which performed the taxation or into whose account the fee was paid.

Article 32. The local taxes and fees regulated by means of the present law that are not set in due time are owed, in the case of the state socialist units, the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations, for a prior period of 18 months, calculated from the date of discovery, and, in the case of physical persons and of juristic persons other than socialist units, for 2 years prior to the year in which this situation was discovered.

Article 33. For the failure to pay on schedule the local taxes and fees regulated by means of the present law, extra charges for lateness are applied: 2 percent per month or fraction of a month in the case of physical persons or of juristic persons other than socialist units and 0.05 percent for each day of lateness in the case of the cooperative, public and state socialist units. The extra charge is calculated from the date when the taxes and fees were owed.

Article 34. The local taxes and fees regulated by means of the present law become revenue for the budgets of the municipalities, the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest, the cities and the communes, as the case may be, or constitute the own income of the units that collect them, in accordance with the law.

Article 35. The Ministry of Finance, the financial administrations, and the financial districts and departments of the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils have the obligation to verify, regarding the socialist units, physical persons, and juristic persons other than socialist units, the factuality of the tax statements and the manner of setting and collecting the taxes and fees provided in the present law.

In the case in which, from the inspections made, differences in taxes and fees are found, steps will be taken to recalculate and collect them in accordance with the law or, as the case may be, to adjust or refund them, on request.

Article 36. The provisions of the present law also apply to foreign physical and juristic persons insofar as by means of conventions or other international agreements to which the Socialist Republic of Romania is a party or on a basis of reciprocity, it is not established otherwise.

Article 37. The failure to comply with the provisions of the present law entails disciplinary, material, civil, contraventional or penal liability, as the case may be.

Article 38. The present law goes into effect on 1 January 1982.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly in the session of 23 December 1981.

Chairman
of the Grand National Assembly,
Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 23 December 1981.
No 25.

12105
CSO: 2700/216

ROMANIA

DECREE ORGANIZES ACTIVITY OF NURSERY SCHOOLS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 20, 17 Feb 82 pp 2-4

[Council of State Decree No 65 of 17 February 1982 on Organization of the Activity of Day Care Centers and Nursery Schools and Establishment of the Parents' Contribution for the Children in These Units]

[Text] In order to aid parents in raising and educating their children, along with giving state allocations for children and other forms of material aid, the state, under conditions of worker self-leadership and economic-financial self-management, organizes day care centers and nursery schools, within which medical assistance, instruction and education for the children are provided free of charge.

Taking into account the fact that food is provided for the children in the day care centers as well as the nursery schools with weekly and extended programs, the parents and other legal supporters are required to bear a portion of the expenses incurred in proportion to the incomes they obtain.

With a view to improving the current regulations on the organization of day care centers and nursery schools and establishing the contribution of the parents or legal supporters for the children in these units,

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The day care centers and nursery schools are organized on the principle of worker self-leadership and economic-financial self-management.

The collective leadership organs of the units at which the day care centers and nursery schools operate are required to insure that the expenses are set sensibly, that the material-technical base and assets they have at their disposal to cover the expenses are used efficiently and that their activity is carried out under good conditions.

Article 2. The day care centers and nursery schools with extended and weekly programs are organized directly under the enterprises, other economic organizations and state institutes at which they operate. The entire activity of the day care centers and nursery schools takes place under the guidance of the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Ministry of Health and the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils.

Article 3. Establishment and organization of the day care centers and nursery schools are done in accordance with provisions of the law, within the indicators established by the single national plan for social-economic development.

Article 4. The expenses of the day care centers and nursery schools are covered by:

- a) The amounts allocated from the state budget for the instruction, education and medical assistance for the children and for other expenses;
- b) The amounts allocated from the fund for social actions established, in accordance with the law, at the disposal of the economic units for management and maintenance expenses;
- c) The amounts allocated in accordance with the law from the fund for participation in profits;
- d) The amounts allocated from the prize fund established, under conditions of the law, at ministries, other central organs, executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils;
- e) The contribution of the parents to cover the expenses for food and certain expenses for maintenance and operation.

Article 5. For the good operation of the day care centers and nursery schools and the judicious use of material and monetary assets, the units in which they are organized as well as the people's councils are to take measures for participation of the members of the parent committees, women's commissions and other persons in certain management activities and the care and educating of their children.

Article 6. The monthly contribution of parents of legal supporters for the children in day care centers and nursery schools is established according to their monthly cumulative incomes and by the program of the day care center or nursery school as follows:

Cumulative monthly incomes	Contribution for day care centers		Contribution for nursery schools	
	Daily program	Weekly program	Extended program	Weekly program
Up to 5,000 lei	270	320	256	270
5,001-6,000 lei	295	385	275	295
6,001-7,000 lei	320	445	295	320
More than 7,000 lei	340	500	320	340

Article 7. The collective leadership organs may approve that within the limit of the amounts allocated, in accordance with the law, from the fund for participation in profits with a view to establishing the fund for social actions and from the fund of prizes established, in accordance with the regulations in effect, at the ministries, other central organs, executive committees of the county or Bucharest municipal people's councils in certain cases, a portion of the

contributions due for keeping the children in day care centers and nursery schools be borne in proportion to the cumulative incomes of the parents or legal supporters as follows:

- a) Up to 50 percent in the case where the cumulative incomes do not exceed 2,500 lei per month;
- b) Up to 40 percent in the case where the cumulative incomes are between 2,501 and 3,000 lei per month;
- c) Up to 30 percent in the case where the cumulative incomes are between 3,001 and 3,500 lei per month;
- d) Up to 20 percent, in the case where the cumulative incomes are between 3,501 and 4,500 lei per month.

Benefitting from the provisions of the preceding paragraph are parents or legal supporters who have at least two children under 16 years of age.

Article 8. The monthly contribution is to be paid by the parents or legal supporters of the child by the end of each month for the next month. The leaders of the unit in which the day care center or nursery school operates, at the request of the parents or legal supporters of the child, may approve for the payment of the contribution due to be made in two installments, with the second one to be paid by the 15th of the current month.

Article 9. The following may be accepted in day care centers and nursery schools on a priority basis, within the limit of the existing places:

- a) The children whose mothers are employed or who are in their studies;
- b) The children under care only of the father, who is employed in work or retired due to illness or an accident;
- c) The children whose mothers are not employed in work, being invalids or suffering from illnesses which have made them unable to care for and educate them;
- d) The children whose mothers, not employed in work, are also caring for children with physical or mental deficiencies.

Article 10. Within the limit of available places, the children of foreign citizens temporarily in the Socialist Republic of Romania may be accepted into the day care centers or nursery schools, with complete payment of the expenses in accordance with the legal provisions.

Article 11. The Ministry of Education and Instruction and the Ministry of Health, with the agreement of the Ministry of Finance, are to work out methodological standards for applying this decree.

Article 12. This decree goes into effect on 1 March 1982.

On the same date the normative acts provided in the appendix, which is an integral part of this decree, as well as any other contrary dispositions, are cancelled.

Appendix: Normative Acts Being Cancelled

Council of Ministers Decision No 586/1951 on the Method of Operation and Maintenance of Day Care Centers and Nurseries in the Budgetary Institutions, Enterprises and State Economic Organizations, Seasonal Nurseries in the Agricultural Sector and Neighborhood Day Care Centers and Nurseries, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 72, 27 June 1951.

Council of Ministers Decision No 3159/1953 on Reduction of Parents' Contribution to Keeping Their Children in Day Care Centers and Nurseries, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 60, 22 September 1953.

Council of Ministers Decision No 3790/1953 on Improvement in the Operation of Existing Day Care Centers and Establishment of New Day Care Centers, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 77, 11 December 1953.

Council of Ministers Decision No 368/1956 on Organization and Financing of Childrens' Nursery Schools in the People's Republic of Romania, published in COLECTIA DE HOTARIRI SI DISPOZITII ALE CONSILIULUI DE MINISTRI No 13, 17 March 1956.

8071

CSO: 2700/230

BOOK BY ORTHODOX BISHOP HAILED FOR NATIONALISM

Cluj-Napoca STEAUA in Romanian Feb 82 p 39

[Article by Mircea Muthu]

[Text] The angle of cultural history, characterized by a broad opening and synthesizing intention, restores the true dimensions of the memory of the book, printed or manuscript; it then again argues with philological and historical strictness for the parameters between which the spirituality of a people, such as the Carpathian-Danube, rushes to develop. Comprised of an eminently theological perspective, the book by Dr. Antonie Plamadeala, "Dascăli de Cuget și Simțire Românească" [The Masters of Romanian Thought and Sentiment] (Bucharest, 1981) knits together "a solemn meeting of the great people of our culture, of the great patriots." He stresses a basic matter for an understanding of the special nature of our culture, not only literary. Truly, if the existence of the Carpathian territory in a certain zone of the continent, as well as the history of the Romanians, with the normal prejudices of neighboring peoples, explains for us the belonging to the so-called "southeastern European spirit," then the eastern Christian culture also is established as an integral part of the "Romanian spirit," fully cristalized even from early medieval period. As P. P. Panaitescu wrote in a reference work, "Orthodoxy was not only a theological doctrine, but also the sign of a cultural unity linked with eastern feudalism." In addition, "in both directions," "Romanian spirit" being a condition of "Romanian Orthodox Christian spirituality" is the subject of these documentary studies written by a clergyman who is up to date with the latest discoveries made in the area of literary history or in that of Romanian humanism. The contributions, I would say the chapters, made by the clerical institutions under the historical conditions to preserving the unity of the nation as well as to the creation of our literary language up to its becoming a "hieratic and state" language, as Eminescu already had observed (in 1881), are analyzed intelligently and with the pathos of the man of great culture, behind whom we find the "model" of Gala Galaction, the scholar-priest. It is not an accident that successive translations of "The Bible" are enjoying particular attention, with their occupying a large section of the book. Nicolae Milescu Spatarul's interpretation of the Old Testament, "The Bible from Bucharest" (1688) and, in the end, "The Bible of 1936 and Its Transformations" comprise crucial stages in the superb adventure of the Romanian language. "The Bible of 1936 thus is 'the first synthesis of the Romanian language, knit together into a whole able to communicate any movement of thought, poetry and prose, history and philosophy.'"

That is why the publication of "Concordance" put together by Fr Gh. Rosca and which includes "all the words used by it and the Latin, Slavonic and Greek relationships, from which it is derived" is absolutely necessary, since it is "the most important tool for drawing up a scientific history of the Romanian literary language" (Virgil Candea). The perfectly justified and impassioned plea for a comparative study of existing versions, the reestablishment of the way in which Galaction began and finished the edition which appeared in 1936, the discussions pro and contra regarding the person of those who actually translated the sacred texts are accompanied by subtle interpretations, some of them strengthening and certifying what we asserted in the first volume devoted, in 1976, to "Romanian literature and the southeastern European spirit." For example, Greceni's introduction in the bible of the celebrated treatise entitled "On the Dominant Reason" (translated by the humanist Miclescu Spatarul and to which, we recall, its discoverer Virgil Candea devoted valuable research) is due to the "cooperation between the laymen and clergymen in our church of the past, between humanism and Christianity which, far from rejecting each other, often occurred in the western Middle Ages, worked together and freely, leaving open the orientation of everyone toward that which they felt more attracted." "The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab" is analyzed under the sign of this cooperation; a careful observation of the ethical ways of the master from Muntenia leads to the conclusion that "humanism was compatible with our Romanian Orthodoxy." More precisely, the Neagoe humanism does not come either from the doctrine of the heretics (I. C. Chitimia) or from the Renaissance (Edgar Papu) but rather from the "Orthodox theology which he knew very well." In other words, it is a question of a "Christian, Orthodox humanism and not from any special virtue of the Orthodoxy of that time but simply because that is what the times demanded then in Romania." Synthesizing the two directions of Orthodox spirituality, contemplative and active, the "Teachings" express through their entire structure the complementary nature of religious-laic; they coexist with the aulic/popular dualism characterizing a good portion of our culture but also the broader southeastern European culture. For the first time the analysis of the religious content of this "Romanian treatise of dogmatics" naturally completes the voluminous critical monograph of "The Teachings." The assimilation, the "Romanianization" of isihasm, for example, is better understood following what we feel is a convincing demonstration that in Neagoe Basarab we discover "an illustrious forerunner to the Cernica direction of Romanian spirituality, a realistic, balanced spirituality operating according to the mental-physical reality of the human person and according to the reality of man's condition as a citizen of the earth and heaven at the same time, with double functions and duties." "The balance between the two fortresses, in their Augustinian meaning, as we saw in the Cernica spirituality, we also found on the church walls," where the sacred images adjoin those representing the princes, donors or even painters, once again sensitizing the basic dualism between heavenly and earthly, hieratic and dynamic, which another time we put into relationship with the dualism which, we feel, also characterizes the Byzantine cultural model. No matter what, the understanding of the concept of Christian humanism in the above way--which is another axis of the present book--has reference value for the virtual synthesis devoted to Romanian and southeastern European humanism. The contribution which deserves to be taken up again in a separate study is all the more deserving, since it is worked out from the angle of the author's profession, from where we have the specific nature of it in the context of the research of the history of culture written here. For the time being let us remember the conclusion that

reception of Christian culture "could not produce a basic change in the Romanian spirit" (Stefan Barsanescu, just as "this constant of the 'Romanian spirit' is just as present in the clergy's writings" (Antonie Plamadeala). In this regard, the retrospective examination in "Orthodox Clergymen, the Founders of Romanian Language and Culture," comprising another center of gravity for the volume, returns to us the emotional gallery "of the models of Romanian thought and sentiment" from the anonymous transcriber to the prelate scholars who entered their names in absolute premieres, regardless of the fact that they created the first institution of Romanian culture and school, that they printed the first book from the history of our literature or that they accomplished the first attempt to place the history of the Romanians into periods, along with Bishop Chesarie of Ramnicul. That same bishop "finds the literary equivalent for the Slavonic text sung, which insures the final triumph for the Romanian language in church." Oprea, a deacon, uses the concept of the "cartulariu" [translation unknown] (1570) for the scholar, while the term of culture appears in 1785. The entire chapter is a concentrated history of our medieval literature, written with "humbleness but also with the assuredness of the person long familiar with the texts of "The [Mineei-unknown]" or with the ones signed by the scholars Nicolae Olahu, Varlaam, Dosoftei or Antim Ivireanul. A general view permits a sketching of the dominant characters in the clergy's contribution to old Romanian culture: the awareness of Roman characteristics, the effort to build a unified culture understood from the beginning as a "culture for everyone," the Cernica-type rationalism, the constant plea for autonomy and national independence, also carried out by the 1885 recognition of the autocephalous nature of the Romanian Orthodox Church as well as by raising it to the rank of a patriarchate in 1925. The paragraphs in this gallery are retaken and extended to the dimensions of portraits which exceed the strictly commemorative level. That is how the one is dedicated to the Transylvanian "Andrei Saguna, Leader of Men and Guider of the Times," or calling up Gheorghe Lazar, "doctor in theology and law," with rhetorical inflection. The main information from our history is recalled, linked with such and such a personality whose "Romanian feeling" continually is stressed. "Gheorghe Sincai and the Controversial Problems of the History of the Romanians" or "Gheorghe Asachi, Moldavian Founder of Romanian Culture" share the era which brings in "The Year of Wisdom: 1859."

Whereas most of the studies and articles have as their subject the medieval culture and events of the last century, in the second section of the book we meet memorable contributions, with unique value, to a more shaded understanding of certain episodes--some really tragic--from the history of modern Romania. Under the banner of "scripta manent," the author, aided by the archives, reestablishes the terrible film of the attempts "to denationalize the Romanians from northern Transylvania through the church (1940-1944)." Thus, "An Important Episode in the Struggle for the Romanian Language" uncovers the activity of the incredible "Central Association for Magyarization of Names," which even in 1898 had published the brochure entitled "How Should We Magyarize the Last Names?"--a book denounced by world public opinion through its recent republication in Milan (1977); also, the Horthyist plan to "establish a Hungarian Orthodox Episcopate" is related, which would have led to removing the Romanian language from church. Another sequence, also remarkable, is reserved for the role played by the clergy in the war of 1877 ("The Romanian Orthodox Church and the War for Independence). Last but not least, I should also mention the return of certain "Moments and

Documents From the Year of Joy: 1918": "Alba Iulia, despite everything it was and meant on 1 December 1918, entered and remains in the rhythm of Romanian life as a heartbeat inherited from parents to children and remains a living spoke for the nation, the memory of history and the duty to keep the nation in unity and liberty." Oracle-like closing words, poem-like, summing up the tone and content of ideas for the entire volume signed by Dr Antonie Plamadeala.

8071

CSO: 2700/234

ROMANIA

WRITERS UNION CONFERENCE REVIEWED BY EMIGRE WRITER

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Feb 82 pp 7-8

[Article by Ion Caraiion]

[Text] Which are the books bearing the signature of this "someone named Dascalescu, an obscure writer but a member of the RCP CC Executive Committee," who, at the Writers Union Conference last summer (as told by Nicolette Franck in the interview you gave her for LA LIBRE BELGIQUE), "took from his pocket a list bearing the name of a president" other than the one actually elected?

Obscure, yes, but a somebody, this Dascalescu, about whom Mrs Nicolette Franck came out and about whom you now ask me, bewildered. But a writer, no. Not notorious, not obscure. Neither way. Or at least, not up to the time I left. Yet (why should I delay in relating it?), the time has not passed. If he receives a task from the party, of course, he, too, will be a writer. For instance, he succeeds to the presidency of the Union of Writers, of Dumitru Radu Popescu, without being elected; no surprise, just as DRP succeeded--also without being elected, but merely coopted, so it also was without a minimum number of votes, which is required according to the statutes, or George Macovescu.

Romanian officialdom and the Romanian Communist Party, as the whole world knows, in the end, when it is a matter of making decisions and issuing ukases, to the shame of the security, army, government, Grand National Assembly and even of the Central Committee, actually nonexistent, has been reduced to will, culture, indigestion, intelligence and a way of articulating and regurgitating what the presidential couple says. Or, at least, until recently that is how things were and now they are starting to move. The play is being organized and the directors are not refusing their contribution. I think the premiere is coming. The pair at the top of the communist pyramid never knew and does not know what a writer is or what it is to be one. Since someone else draws up the scientific and literary productions for each of the two, while merely the results brought to them for their signature, they are very convinced that the entire story and drama of creation in this sector are reduced to a simple cunning: to have the power, of course, the political power, from the balconies of which you order that the necessary slaves, happy and many, be found for you and you force them to write.

When, at the height of his indignation, Eugen Jebeleanu went to the RCP first secretary for the plagiarisms several years ago of one of the member of the

CC for literature (because all the books signed by Eugen Barbu are plagiarized, not just "Incognito," and he told the first secretary that there was a violator of common law, he asked, completely innocently:

"Good, good, but what actually did he do?"

"He plagiarized!" fumed the author of "Inimile sub Sabii."

The dictator on the Dimbovita did not understand: "That is?"

"That is, he stole someone else's writing, sir! And he took those hundreds of thousands of lei. He's a thief."

Faced with the fakery, not a move. And he even did not get angry that he had called him sir. Absolutely not one move. A little jaundice, hate, at the most. And only then, perplexed, did Eugen Jebeleanu see the truth: that that stuttering little man before him, with so many claims and so much arrogance, about whom by chance he had written in his youth several warm words, had become wicked from all the good living and had no idea what plagiarism was. That he, for whom various and sundry flunkey underlings manufactured for him the daily, bombastic, boring and never-ending babblings, thought that is normal for you to be cunning. And the president is cunning. He along with Eugen Barbu and several other...writers.

If one has reached power, who is not able to become or feel that he has become a writer in Romania? From A. Toma to N. Ceausescu and Eugen Barbu, anybody. A flock of examples and two flocks of books. You liquidate the life of a great chemist, academician and illustrious professor, you steal his works and, for example, you become a scholar. You say "Codoi" instead of CO₂ and the earth shakes. But the climax is that such things are not taking place in the fantasy of a fairytale writer. The anecdote and fable long ago were exceeded.

On the morning of 1 July 1981, when the participants in the Union of Writers Conference were awaiting the Head of State to open the meetings, while herds and herds of workers and office functionaries had been taken by force from the factories and offices and were battling to greet him, squealing with slogans of praise on which they had worked weeks and months ahead of time, I found out that the little man who waves his hands and utters words--angry with us--would no longer be honoring us with his presence and that he had left somewhere for the field, accompanied by his entourage and his regular tapes to hold forth with the cows and view the grass. And in his place he did not send Ilie Verdet, but Dascalescu, truly a member of the RCP CC, with a letter of threats and warnings, a kind of salad of swear words given publicity, with only partial changes, in the press in the coming days. For Dascalescu to read us the letter from the indisposed Leader, the "Ruin Everything and Confuse the World" person who for the first time since he has been at the top, since the Writers Union has existed and since the union has held its conference every four years was to throw into its work with the stones of indifference and defiance and was no longer going to, oh, grace us with the honor of receiving directives from him, the RCP secretary general himself. For those who were in prison in Aiud and remember him, Dascalescu reminds you of that jail commander, a colonel named Cracium. Ongoing events will tell what this Cracium is doing now. So the emissary of

the little man who is abusing his role as Romanian head of state, thus, the reader of the letter, thus Dascalescu, syllabbified however he could--looking at us bitterly--the presidential "message," in which we were threatened and scolded like some presumptive evil-doers. He stopped at each of the more provocative formulas, probably waiting for acclamation, enthusiasm, the false socialist theater. But, on the contrary, the chairs were squeaking, there was fidgeting, loud talking, some got up and left; at times, he asked for quiet and when he finished his red sermon, there was silence. That silence froze many people. It had never happened before. But they had reached the limit of their patience.

Just a day before, on the eve of the ill-fated opening of the conference, on 30 June, Dumitru Popescu--he, too, one of the high emissaries of the CC--who always zealously expressed the opinion of the current African-type dictator, that is, the high (as it is said) evaluation of Ceausescu, had spoken of the stables of the Union of Writers. Public opinion does not know, but it should. And C. Toiu, a novelist, drew his attention to the fact that he would be better off to dwell on the stables of the weekly SAPTAMINA. In short and as recognition for the attachment shown the party in three and one-half decades of defiling their consciences, the writers finally were clear, with the curtain going up on the eve of their professional conference, about what value the party higher-ups placed on them: they were considered quadrupeds. No more. Because Dumitru Popescu was not speaking only in his own name but in the name of the one who had sent him. And as additional proof of how it was, his sulking senior did not even deign to see us the next day so that he wouldn't get the smell. But he still did. As never before, in nearly all the three days that the work lasted, thousands of truths were told there (the usual two-three exceptions: Poppiliu Marcea, Iulian Neacsu, Mihai Davidoglu--were like some simple wrecks and moral failures and not men and not even remainders of men) in a language anyone would understand, regarding the entire disaster of culture, politics, economy, education and the future being prepared for the Romanian people and youth. A unanimous courage animated most of those who spoke and the signal of the alarm sirens roared continually for nearly three days. At the end, some conclusions were drawn which had nothing in common with what had taken place there and had been delivered under the cupola of the small hall of the palace which, I am not exaggerating, had lived through a small historic moment more burning than the month of July. However, everything had closed hermetically so that not a word would be heard outside, under a giant glass bell. And almost nothing was heard. But in a dull, cowardly, clumsy, banal and hard-to-read speech by Ilie Radulescu, we found out, perplexed, that we ("we": not he or they!) agree with the directives in the letter-swear words of Ceausescu. It had not even been a question of anything like that. Nobody had even mentioned it. The vote followed. An entire night. Under the gross and pressing vigilance of the police, who investigated and inspected the results unfairly. That night, when they had found that their people were not winning, for example, Dumitru Radu Popescu, whose election they supported tenaciously, this kind of sentence was heard: "Comrade DRP must have 230 votes!" or "See, 14 axe handles did not vote!" They knew by exact count, anticipating, how many votes so and so had to have and the number of those who had pledged that they would sell their vote had been counted. However, 14 still did not keep their word. It even happened among the brigands. These words were delivered by the massive delegates of party control,

that is, the security men placed there to obtain a result which they could not obtain, by using force, whether they wanted to or not. Dumitru Radu Popescu, although votes were also given to him from the pockets, was coopted, not elected.

As never before in the past, the composition of the Bureau of the Union of Writers, the name of the president and the vice presidents who--in the socialist expression--"enter into the listing of the Central Committee," that is, they do not owe their particular quality to the fact that they were elected by their colleagues but are appointed obligatorily by the head of state (not to keep getting mixed up with words) who is generous; so the composition of the bureau, the name of the president and the vice presidents, were given to us some days later in conformity with the wish of the head of state, whom you know and whose preferences you know, to whom you know were directed, thus making this guilt happy, too.

As I said, several days later, those from the council of the Union of Writers, the only ones really elected by secret vote, some with a considerable quantity of support (as far as I was concerned, it seems I was 12th in number of votes, but this had no importance; we mean nothing in the eyes of power, nothing more than, at most, a form of hostility which had to be crushed quickly), we were convened in a building full of security officers dressed in civilian clothes, to intimidate us, a building right near the Central Committee, where the team of death and horror appeared very unpunctually, following a calculated delay of more than two hours, while we were looking at just those nice prince charmings who would have nibbled on us. That is, the death and horror prepared for us: Suzana Gadea, Ilie Radulescu and, yes, Dascalu!

But, with a lack of ideal manners, very rudely, troubled eyes, stopping anyone who dared to put together several well-intended words and to prevent the imprudence of using blind methods of force, like fascists. On behalf of the presidential couple, among the last of the faithful, Dascalu told us, in a police-like and threatening way, who we have as president and who we are in for in the bureau. Period.

Several vainly tried--each in his own way, like Geo Bogza, Dan Desliu, Dan Haulica, N. Manolescu and Ileana Malancioiu--to bring back the atmosphere which had existed very recently during the conference, the risk of carelessly going above everything said there and the legitimate thirst of more than 500 writers, guild delegates, to see in the bureau at least a portion of the first ones they had elected, but the procedure was by putting fist to the throat: Sit down! That's enough! We won't talk! And so forth. With the security at the doors, in the hallways, even among us. Very democratic and free.

The majority of the Union of Writers Bureau was comprised of writers with very few votes (for example, Constantin Chirita, Nichita Stanescu, Petre Salcudeanu and so forth), however agreeable to the party for services rendered.

When the funeral ceremony was over, everyone going his own way, the nearly 100 writers invited to that requiem service felt almost freed in the rain outside, since it was a rainy day like the lead in our souls, without having to see

among us those rough faces of the "comrades" from that building, the comrades from the party control but not also conscience control.

Shortly afterward , Dumitru Popescu and Ilie Radulescu were rotated, because their play had not succeeded and there were other cues. The conference of the Union of Writers, instead of coming out a socialist piece of cake like so many times in the past, had meant a warning.

8071

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NEED FOR ORDER, DISCIPLINE IN ALL FIELDS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 2, 20 Jan 82 pp 17-19

[Article by Cristian Ionescu: "Insistence Upon Order and Discipline in All Activities"]

[Text] As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The party organs and organizations must make every effort toward complete application and observance of both the party's decisions and the state's laws as the basis of our entire activity. This primarily requires well-organized knowledge and understanding of the decisions and laws."

Romania's socioeconomic progress as well as further consolidation and development of socialist democracy, including intensified workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, heavily depend upon institutionalized and improved methods for the entire people's participation in management of all activities, upon the efficient operation of those methods and those for organizing and managing socioeconomic activity and the political-legal superstructure, and upon firm reinforcement of social order and discipline. Securing discipline and order in all activities as well as consistent observance and enforcement of the laws and the standards of coexistence as basic requirements of social existence are primary civic duties in the system of human and society-state-citizen relations, and the harmonious progress of Romania's socialist society depends upon their exemplary fulfillment. And as we know the laws of the Romanian state are observed and enforced according to their letter and spirit out of a free conviction of the workers that directly follows from their position in regard to the production means, the purpose of production, and the legal provisions.

Within this legal framework the workers are closely associated in the production process and that of producing material values in a vast ramification of social relationships and interests. They have definite rights and obligations vis-a-vis each other and all of them vis-a-vis the state and society, while they participate in and contribute to Romania's all-around progress by performing their jobs.

In keeping with the party's and state's constant efforts on behalf of good organization and performance of economic activity, the recently ratified laws on organization and management of the socialist state units and improvement of the workers councils activity, as well as the State Council's decree setting definite legal standards to strengthen order and discipline in every economic unit, form a legal framework essential to better management and further development of the entire people's property.

The measures to establish complete order and consistent discipline uniformly regulate the responsibilities and duties of personnel in the state socialist units in order to ensure the uninterrupted operation of the installations and equipment in their inventories with complete technological safety.

It is clear that every economic unit's technical equipment belongs to society as a whole as part of the national wealth and public property, so that endangering, destroying or failing to use it most effectively will impair the whole national economy and the collective property of society. As its owners and managers the workers are directly responsible for the proper operation of the installations, equipment and every machine with which they produce material goods from which they themselves ultimately benefit.

Every worker must manage the technical equipment in his unit properly and most effectively because the economic tasks must be performed regularly and punctually, and any interference with the completely secure operation of the installations must be scrupulously prevented or eliminated. Fulfillment of this obligation depends upon the workers' greater responsibility for the direct and effective management of every enterprise or unit, upon strengthened order and discipline on every job, and upon their natural duty to take a direct interest in the efficiency of their unit.

As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The problem of order and discipline and of job responsibility is to be one of the regular daily concerns of the workers councils, the trade unions and the UTC [Union of Communist Youth] of course as mass political organizations, and the party as a leading political force in every unit and throughout the country that bears the responsibility for the efficiency of the whole activity."

This urgently requires a greater sense of responsibility on the part of every citizen toward his obligations on the job and for strengthening order and discipline in every unit. By its very aims and nature the new order is incompatible with disorder, anarchy, or irresponsibility in the management and administration of material wealth and with violations of the laws of the socialist state.

Any modern society and especially the socialist state creates a system of social standards to ensure its efficient operation. As we know the Uniform National Plan for Romania's Socioeconomic Development has been discussed and enacted by the Grand National Assembly. Therefore it is implemented by every workers collective in close connection with their observance and performance of the units' tasks flowing from the economic plans. But fulfillment of the tasks depends upon precise application of the laws and decisions enacted for efficient production and upon observance of the contracts which, as we know, have the force of regulatory enactments in relations among units.

The good results obtained last year were due to the workers' creative efforts as well as the political-educational and organizational work done by the party organs and organizations on behalf of the socioeconomic objectives and their effort to enforce the party and state decisions and to apply the laws of the land. From this standpoint, proper preparation of production organization from the start of the year, prompt performance of the tasks, and establishing order and discipline in economic activity are the main essentials for accomplishing the objectives of the party program.

Our party and state attach particular importance to improvement of social relations and legislation and to basing the entire Romanian socialist social order upon laws in keeping with the new realities and demands of progress.

Socialist order and discipline, the fundamental obligation to observe the party decisions and laws of the land as possessions of the entire people and components of the nation's moral wealth, heavily depend upon daily civic manifestation and assertion of the workers' socialist awareness and upon firm opposition to any tendencies to disregard the legal provisions or evade regulations and to any forms of subjectivism in interpretation and application of the laws.

Strengthened order and discipline on every job and elimination of any violations of the legal provisions require a firm stand and stronger collective opinion against any antisocial acts. It is well known that tolerance of one violation invites others, which in turn impair the normal climate of economic activity. Lack of a firm worker reaction gives free rein to further indiscipline, with direct effects upon the planned tasks and even upon social activity as a whole.

It is any citizen's civic duty not to shirk the responsibilities assigned him by laws and other regulatory enactments or state and party discipline on the job and not to violate the standards of conduct in society and in all social experience. But experience tells us that some citizens disregard the laws, violate their provisions for effective socioeconomic activity, and do not always observe the strict, precise standards governing rules for proper operation and use of technological installations, machines and equipment or, in general, the system of order and discipline in their units. Meanwhile there is not always firm control over the standards of technology, labor safety etc., and it is not perfected by specific measures to eliminate the defects. Unfortunately some units still keep up an inadequate practice of compiling mere records of passive findings of the defects and failures without proceeding to firm, definite measures to eliminate them (and some of them are serious) or to sanction the guilty parties. Indulgence of defects and legal violations is intolerable and incompatible with the sense of responsibility that should characterize every worker's activity. Any violation must be sanctioned promptly in order to remove any possibility of "perpetuating" it. Some economic units tend to apply administrative sanctions (quite justified of course) only to violations like delays in the work schedule, "shortening" it on "one's own initiative" although the installations, machines or equipment are in "full" operation, unexcused absences, and absences without leave for personal business, while they overlook violations of the rules and standards governing labor safety and the use and performance of installations that are very hazardous in operation unless they result in accidents, although such breaches of discipline are far more serious and may be followed by fires, destruction of machines and equipment, etc. Ignorance of the legal provisions in force or even of technological standards is invoked in many such situations. Breaches of discipline and disregard of elementary rules of conduct cannot be excused by these "explanations." Laxity of some managers and team or unit leaders in occupational training and instruction of personnel and the bureaucracy and routine embedded in the activity of some productive sections in economic units greatly contribute to the preservation of a "lukewarm" atmosphere of minor mutual "compensations" for "departures" from the standards of discipline which are actually violations of strict rules and elementary obligations.

Breaches of the economic contracts (interfering with effective application of the economic-financial mechanism and self-administration) are often due to defects detected "at the last minute" by the producer or beneficiary in installations, engines, machines and equipment in the installation stage etc. Such defects, which disrupt the work of other productive units, are not due to the workers' lack of training or technical competence, which are weaknesses that can be remedied by better specialized training, but to violation and disregard of the standards of technological discipline and inadequate specialized control throughout the manufacturing process or flow.

Certainly the explanations of some technicians and even some members of the party and youth organs and organizations like "We have taken steps in these directions, but....," "We have discussed it with our comrades in the general assemblies and they promised," "We have made some progress, but there are still some long-standing violations of labor discipline," etc. indicate how harmful the irresponsibility is of those entrusted with management and implementation of the production processes, with revolutionary education, and with formation of the working consciousness of the workers and especially the youngest ones. The shortcomings are also aggravated by indifference to control of technological order and discipline in production and of all workers' performance, failure to notify the higher organs promptly, and delay in taking firm measures to eliminate the breaches of discipline or any violations.

Such violations are not "foreign" to the quality of the political-ideological and educational work done by some collectives and party, youth or trade-union organs and organizations or the low level of individual political work. The weakened militance and sense of responsibility and the breaches of discipline of some workers, including some managers, misinforming the party organs, submitting false economic reports, and concealment of errors and violations of the laws and ethical standards are direct results of serious defects in ideological and political-educational work. Quantitative "reporting" of some political-ideological actions, many of them routine and superficial, shows that no attention was paid to matters of content or the militant spirit. The tendency to conceal defects in analyses, reports and surveys gives rise to further violations because they do not get beyond the stage of bureaucratic recording and are not followed up by firm and strict measures to put a stop to the breaches of discipline and legal violations. As some examples show, a number of laws vital to all socio-economic activity are not enforced because they are often "forgotten" in various forms of occupational or political-ideological training, despite widespread discussion of them in the press and in workers collectives, and replaced by detailed instructions and orders some of which even depart from the legal standards. Some economic laws or decisions are formally discussed with special emphasis on the provisions concerning settlement of property disputes without covering the correct application of the regulatory enactments to prevent such lawsuits.

Legal propaganda work in some economic units is still inadequate and done by outmoded standards in conflict with the current requirements, although a party decision assigns specific tasks for proper publicizing of legislation. The activity of the jurists in economic units, institutions etc. is often underrated and confined to consultations as "house lawyers" after some enactment or administrative provisions of minor importance have been approved. But jurists and personnel with specialized legal training in general should be further involved in management, organization and control of economic-financial activity and in making and applying any decisions, because the latter also have a legal content and direct consequences with material implications that concern every unit.

The party organs and organizations have an important and even critical part to play in the enforcement of laws, order and discipline. They are expected to take all measures to initiate definite and firm actions to publicize the laws, to control their application, and to eliminate and prevent any difficulties that prevent some units from fulfilling their assumed tasks.

As we know, the greatest possible progress critically depends upon the effort to establish an atmosphere of complete order and strict observance of the norms of socialist coexistence, upon the high standards and aggressiveness with which every party

organization should combat shortcomings and defects, and upon intolerance of breaches of discipline, incompetence, indifference and all that obstructs the progress of any workers collective. As Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu said about this, there can be no tolerance of indifference and irresponsibility on the job, or indulgence toward those who impair the economy, public property and the interests of the Romanian people. In playing a decisive part in organization and management of every unit's socioeconomic activity, the party organizations have a heavy responsibility to the people for the good management, conservation and development of public property and for the further growth of the nation's wealth, which is the source of all workers' welfare.

Violations of technological and labor discipline will be firmly sanctioned by the party organizations according to the seriousness of the social danger of the violations committed. They will see that the sanctions applied to those guilty of disregarding the legislation are drastic but fully justified and right. An effective political-educational and organizational activity is one which enhances the atmosphere of order and discipline and fosters and maintains the Romanian people's sense of justice and their resolve to eliminate any disruptions of labor discipline or the social order.

Of course social control of strengthened discipline and order in every unit is not confined to preventive measures or to sanctioning the offenders as the case may be but also requires firm and intensive action and the opinion of the workers collectives and every worker.

Being fully integrated in the state's effort to enhance the national wealth and the entire people's welfare, every worker from the laborer and craftsman up to the director is bound by the new regulations to take personal responsibility for observance of order and discipline at work and the standards of socialist ethics and justice and to make every effort to secure a climate of order and labor discipline in performing his tasks on behalf of the efficiency of the production process.

Every worker's civic duty to observe the standards of social coexistence and the laws must be reinforced by more exacting standards on the part of the party organs and organizations and a firm stand against those who violate the laws, order and discipline and take a superficial and irresponsible attitude toward their work. The revolutionary spirit that should characterize the whole effort to carry out the state's laws and to enforce technological discipline and standards on every job requires the party organs and organizations to keep improving their working methods and approach, to strengthen their role in production management, and to disseminate intensive and lively political-ideological propaganda related to experience and the requirements and actual realities of every job. To this end educational programs must be organized to explain the nature and significance of the standards of coexistence and to ensure comprehension and firm application of the laws by every citizen as a freely accepted personal habit.

Comprehension of the nature and broad social purposes of the new regulatory enactments, which set new standards and obligations of great civic significance for strengthened order and discipline in all activities, and their resolute application help to improve and enhance the effectiveness of the democratic instruments for organization and management of socioeconomic activity and contribute to the nation's general progress.

In harmoniously combining selfless dedication to the cause of socialism, consistent and enthusiastic application of the party policy and observance of the laws, professional competence, excellent political-ideological training, receptiveness to the new, a militant attitude and intolerance of shortcomings, legal violations and routine, the communists and personnel in all fields combine the characteristics of the revolutionary political activist. Clearly a thorough mastery of the revolutionary ideals and cultivation of the sense of duty to the nation and unfailing respect for the laws of the socialist state are essential to further the great undertaking of attaining the goals set by the 12th RCP Congress.

5156

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IMPACT OF RISING LIVING COSTS ON FAMILY BUDGETS ILLUSTRATED

Two Railroaders

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 206, 16 Jan 82 pp 28-29

[Article by Rajko Djurdjevic: "To Have Or Have Not"]

[Text] When we cannot do what we want, then we have to do what we can. From one January to the next, household food products became 37 percent more expensive.

Prices are in fact frozen--but they are moving now like glaciers!

Subsidies have been discontinued and new price increases have appeared. Retail prices have been increased for milk, bread, oil and poultry, until now the cheapest groceries.

At the Belgrade Toll Market, that showcase of the most widespread standard of living, everything is expensive and in short supply. The season has emptied the counters, and the New Year holidays have also emptied pockets and shops. What really is there to buy?

One old man says, "I go through the market, hunting and aiming [to buy things], haggling, but it's all the same. Enormously expensive."

In front of the Ptuj PPK [farm and food processing enterprise], a group of citizens are patiently waiting for poultry. It has become more expensive, but it is still the cheapest, they say. The problem is that there is not enough of it. The manager of the shop, Momo Brankovic, received only 400 kilograms of poultry for this day. He says that there is no more, it has been sold. The line reluctantly disperses, with some people loudly speculating that he had left a good part of it in the freezer "for his friends," protesting, threatening an inspection, wanting to form a delegation to search the shop....

Down the street, at the bottom of the market in front of the Slavija BIM [Belgrade Meatpacking Plant] butcher shop, which sells ungraded meat, "bony meat," the people who are waiting are even more energetic. The line in front of this shop formed early this morning, they say. The meat here is the

cheapest. They sell tripes, cow and pig feet, lungs, hearts, "lamb parts," giblets....

One young woman goes past the people who are waiting and with a rather pleasant voice asks the salesman for "something for her cat." The old housewives protest sharply. "What do you think we are waiting for here?" they ask. "What do you mean, cats, I need it for my children!" Instead of sharp words, the young woman only directs a scornful glance at them and goes away.

Time For Oxtails

A middle-aged man approaches the salesman and buys a half kilogram of bones. "A little for the soup and some just to flavor the stuffed leaves." The salesman asks him what else he wants, and he says, "Give me what you have."

I ask the man whether he always buys meat here. "Of course," he says, "the tomcats and retirees get fed here. This is the time for oxtails!"

The woman right next to him says that her name is Milica Ivanovic and that she lives on Cucuk Stanina St. She complains that her pension is 4,500 new dinars and that she does not know how to make ends meet. "I worked my whole life in a mill," she says, "I used to get up at 0300, and now I'm doing exactly the same thing; I get up at 0300 in order to wait for bony meat."

"What are you complaining about?" says the next one in line, an older woman. Her name is Darinka Volosinko. "I live on 2,200 dinars in social assistance. Half of that goes for the apartment and electricity."

"My God, how do you live?" one of the people in the line wonders.

"This is how: I cook soup and stretch it out," Darinka says smiling.

A woman only 40 years old buys a half kilogram of hearts. "You retirees complain, but it's no better for us workers with working families," she says. "My husband is a fitter in Novi Dom. He earns 7,000 dinars a month. We pay 4,000 of that for a room in Mirijevo. What is left for food does not even last 10 days."

"Of course, you spent money on the New Year?" I ask. "What New Year! Where are we going to celebrate it? My husband and I and a 15-year-old daughter live in the same room."

That time flies, the line disperses, and there is less and less bony meat. Obviously there will not be enough of it for everyone. More and more often, half-empty baskets are being carried out of the market. Times have changed.

The Two Faces of One Sentence

The experts have meticulously made new calculations: from last January until this one, food products, the ones that we most often bring into our houses, have become 37 percent more expensive. In just the last month, nine products,

from eggs to salt, lost subsidies from sociopolitical communities. The non-food products most needed by households have become 15.7 percent more expensive in the course of the last year. Lent has already gone by.

Now the cancelled subsidies for milk, bread, oil and poultry will raise the growth in living costs from six to seven percent. How should we protect our standard of living, the difficulties of which are not temporary? The subsidies were unpopular with economists, but they had a role to play. They were a help with the "euphoria" of prices threatened the standard of living.

The experts accused the subsidies of "unselectivity, bringing about an increase in consumption," and finally, of "not solving the right problems." Now it is even worse; however, the subsidies are gone and the price increases have remained. There are, furthermore, no clear programs yet. No one is asking the workers for their proposals, although they alone are setting aside funds for the subsidies and for all of the other measures.

An increase in prices will also require an increase in personal incomes. A trade union will again be in the position of doing an excellent job of protecting the workers with the lowest salaries instead of supporting division according to labor, the principles of which have in any case already been shaken.

Assistance will be received by the people for whom it is hardest to make ends meet. Socially endangered people will receive it, and retirees will receive somewhat more. The ones in the most difficult position, however, will be the skilled workers with salaries only a little above those that qualify for social protection. And they are the ones who are responsible for production in the creation of income.

How do they live and how should they be assisted?

An impression of buying power from the marketplace can be deceptive. These are the days after the New Year holidays, when the pockets of even the most thrifty people have been imperceptibly emptied. For this reason we wanted to see how a typical family lives. What is there for it to eat every day? How do railroad workers, mailmen, and factory workers live?

In New Belgrade, just across the old bridge, I looked for the railroad settlement. I thus met and became acquainted with Miodrag Pantovic, a driver. "I'll tell you the same thing as the railroad workers," he says. "We are in the same fix."

Only Clothes Can Be Mended

Pantovic, together with his fellow driver Slobodan Krusic, rented a three-room apartment at 15 Radnicka Street, in Dobanovci. Each of them has a wife and two children. He says that they divided it into a room and a half apiece and half a bathroom apiece. They live together, so to speak. They have similar salaries. They earn from 8,000 to 9,000 new dinars per month. Pantovic, however, has a great advantage over his colleague and fellow tenant, since his wife Vukosava is employed. She works in the Sava-Center as a cleaning

woman and receives 4,760 dinars a month. When they are refused credit, they are left with what they have.

"Here's how we live," Pantovic says. "Be ashamed and be silent. My wife and I pay 3,000 dinars for our part of the apartment. This is a serious problem. We beg the enterprises to let us work on different shifts, so that one person will always be watching the children to keep them from making an uproar and angering the landlord. Apartments are the biggest problem. I have been working for the same firm for 15 years, and I do not even think about the possibility of receiving an apartment. To tell the truth, my children are already bigger; one daughter is 12 years old and the other is 15. No one would take you with small children; I know some colleagues of mine who are having a lot of trouble."

The Pantovic family's apartment at 15 Radnicka in Dobanovici is modestly furnished. Their wives say that it is more important to feed the children. Everything is expensive. They say that every dinar is spent strictly according to the budget.

"It cannot be done, however," says Miodrag's wife, Vukosava. "The children are already growing up."

The mother was happiest when she could cover them with one blanket. Now she can no longer do so. They have grown bigger and they need clothes. Half a million has to be set aside just for books in one school year.

The schools are always asking for something new, the Pantovic family says. They complain--what should they buy for the children first? Just the tennis shoes for gym class cost 650 dinars.

"As for the clothes, let them be expensive," Miodrag says. "It is not a disgrace if a person wears patched clothes; that is all right. But food is a problem. Until recently our children did not have a school kitchen and every morning I have had to give them 50 dinars apiece for breakfast. Where is this supposed to come from? No one asks about that. I neither smoke nor drink. I do not even think about a day off or a vacation. I do not buy a newspaper. Now there are new price increases, and I am losing my orientation a little. We are not starving, but we are barely getting along. And again, at the end of last year the final balance was negative. I owe a million old dinars to my sister from Vrsac. I'm showing a deficit, so to speak, and I don't know when I'm going to break even."

How To Dismiss the Guests

Miodrag Pantovic's job is certainly not easy. He drives 20 kilometers to Belgrade by bus. He says that this is not traveling but suffocation. The [bus] lines have been cut back, and so there is a constant crowd. At the work site, he is on wheels again. When he goes home, it is the same thing. "When I come home," he says, "it seems to me that I have grown wheels on my feet."

The Pantovic family is deleting one item after another from their family budget. They buy what they have to. There is never an end to economizing.

"The situation," Miodrag says, "is enough to make a person think. If you want to work well, you have to eat well; and the budget is thinner and thinner. Think what happens when guests come! Those expenses are already a luxury. We don't see friends anymore, we don't go anywhere, and people do not come to visit us. We sit and go through the calculation. The only way out is for me to go abroad somewhere. The children will grow even more and they will need more. Where are the four of us going to live? In a room and a half? Is that really possible?"

Pantovic says that he hears a great deal about stabilization and economizing. People talk about that at every step. But what is economizing, he wonders? He says that it seems to him like when someone buys some wheat and puts it in a big but the bag is torn, so what is inside gushes out. Some people save and others are extravagant. One cannot save just by wanting to.

Pantovic's colleague and fellow tenant, Slobodan Krusic, does not even want to talk about his situation. He is the only one who works, and he has a wife and two children. Krusic soon calls his colleague Pantovic and tells him "to see some higher mathematics! I calculated that if I only buy one yogurt and a roll for each member of my family for dinner I need 4,350 dinars a month. And when I pay for the apartment, there's not even a broken dinar left!"

"So how do you live?"

Both Miodrag Pantovic and Slobodan Krusic shrug their shoulders. Krusic also adds, "I live from loan to loan. We will see what happens!"

This is how the costs of living appear when measured by the standards of a worker's family. Naturally all workers do not earn the same amount. There are some who earn more, but also others who do not even earn as much. Prices are frozen, but the standard of living is facing serious difficulties.

Input Into Statistical Average

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1214, 9 Feb 82, pp 34-35

[Article by Stevan Zec: "The Pencil Writes For Others"]

[Text] Stojana usually writes her diary at night, when everyone in the house is already asleep. It is an almost ordinary notebook with lined pages. She writes down everything, even the purchases that she, her husband, and her two children have made that day. The list begins with bread and milk. She writes down the type of article, the amount, and the price. She does not add them. This is done by other people: the employees and computers of the Serbian Institute for Statistics. When the newspapers say that the costs of living have increased in the last three months by, let us say, 19.6 percent, Stojana

knows that she and her diary are the ones most responsible for the accuracy of the figure that shows what it is like for us on the average and per capita.

This family is average, in the number of members, the size of the apartment, the car that they use, and most important as an indicator, in their income. It has been officially declared to be average because it collaborates every day with the Serbian Institute for Statistics.

They came into this story by their own wish, although the law guarantees them anonymity. We ask them, "Can we write about how you live?" They said, "Why not?" Let us introduce them, then: the Dimitrijevic family from the old Kragujevac settlement of Pivar, No 18 Miodrag Urosevic St.

The head of the family, the father and husband, is Slavoljub, 33 years old, who was trained as a radio and TV mechanic but is working as a qualified electrician for the maintenance OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] of the Crvena Zastava [Red Flag] Institutes. (Slavoljub is the one least to blame for the fact that he studied and learned one thing but is doing something else. We did not establish whether this is also average in Yugoslavia.)

She, a conscientious housewife, has borne and raised two healthy and handsome children; Stojana, a skilled metal miller, is working as a final-product inspector in OOUR One of the Crvena Zastava Institute.

The older child, a boy, is their son Ivan, who is 11 years old, a very good student in the fifth grade of elementary school ("Mother, I got excellent grades all the way through up to this semester"), the best soccer player in the street, and a passionate fan of the Crvena Zvezda [Red Star] team, which he has never seen in the stadium.

It Can Also Be Done For Cash

The younger child, the ornament and darling of the household, is their daughter Ana, 6 carefree years old, who has begun to lose her milk teeth.

Almost everything in the Dimitrijevic family is associated with Zastava as after all is the case with most of the families in Kragujevac; not just because Stojana and Slavoljub both work there and earn their living there, but also because of the pupil, Ivan. "Here the school break is when it suits Zastava. It began before the New Year and lasted until 25 January. Zastava wasn't working then either."

The Dimitrijevics earned everything that they have in the institutes, she with 13 years of service and he with 12. That is where they met and fell in love.

Last December Slavoljub received 12,200 dinars. This was above average for him because he worked a considerable amount of overtime. The same month Stojana brought home 9,650 dinars, as always. Together they received 21,850 dinars on 15 January 1982, which was 2,000-3,000 more than their average the previous year. Actually, these sums were written on the envelopes, and their

net pay was considerably less. They have long-term loans (15 years) for the apartment, and short-term ones for the color television, the refrigerator, an electric oven, and a man's suit from Bek. When it is all added up, it comes to 3,957 dinars a month. The cashier at Zastava took another 964 dinars out of the Dimitrijevićs' envelopes for trade union memberships, the municipal water fee, and one percent for Montenegro; Stojana and Slavoljub thus brought home 16,920 dinars on 15 January 1982.

"Can you live on that?" we asked.

Slavoljub, an optimist, half answered and half asked, "Well, what do we need?"

Stojana, the housewife, immediately added, "What do we need? Do you want me to make up a list or should I list them from memory?"

Nevertheless, for the sake of "more constructive reporting," we will start with what the Dimitrijevićs do not lack, but rather already have.

With a loan totaling 200,000 dinars at three percent interest for 15 years, they somewhat renovated and expanded the old family house, which was already in bad shape, and thus moved away from Slavoljub's parents. Now grandmother Branka and grandfather Radomir are actually their next door neighbors, but as will be seen later in this story, they are very important for the family standard of living of their son and daughter-in-law. With the same loan, they installed central heating in the entire house, with a coal furnace. The part of the house in which the Dimitrijevićs live with their children is in fact a two-room apartment with 64 square meters of floor space, i.e., 18 square meters per family member. All of the appliances in the house are electric: the refrigerator, oven, freezer, vacuum cleaner, mixer, and washing machine.... Only the coffeegrinder is an old one, the kind that grinds slowly and well. And since there is not always coffee, it is a good thing that it grinds slowly. All the appliances are of domestic manufacture, which demonstrates the patriotism of the Dimitrijevićs, but also shows the origin of the property; it was purchased all at once on credit.

"This month we also bought an appliance for cash," the optimist Slavoljub boasted.

"But say what it is," the housewife Stojana interrupted again. "A household appliance? Right. Bought for cash? Right. But it was a No 10 meat grinder, retail price 214.25 dinars."

"But we also have an automobile; why aren't you telling him about that?" Slavoljub played his last trump.

"We have a car, but neither of us has passed a driving test, neither he nor I. The car has already been mostly sitting in the garage for a year. We only drive it a little when a friend or a relative comes. You know, driving schools are expensive, and then the medical certifications, and the fee for every time you take the test...."

(We heard from the municipal police in Kragujevac that the driving test is taken an average of five times.)

"But what a car," their son Ivan exclaimed. "It's not just a car, it's a beauty. A Polish Fiat 126. Besides, it was a present from grandfather."

"Go to your room, son, and study for school," Slavoljub said calmly.

"It really is. We installed heating in the entire house," Stojana said, "and my father-in-law repaid us by buying us that car."

The Stomach Is the First Concern

A plum dessert with walnuts inside was served as soon as we came in the door. This was a home, and at the Dimitrijevićs' something has to be on the table when guests come.

"Domestic plum brandy? Beer? Wine, white or red?" our host offered, just as if we were in a cafe.

The largest item in the family budget is food. We looked over the household diary that will go to the Institute for Statistics in a few days for processing. As we all know, January is the "longest" month in the year.

"In January, there are a fair number of holidays, and we had a birthday, which means that you have to buy a present, and at the same time there were seasonal sales that you cannot resist," Stojana says.

We flipped through the diary. It had been kept since 3 January. The last transaction was recorded on 26 January. In those 24 days the Dimitrijević family spent a total of 14,543.45 dinars. A rough analysis is as follows: 7,917.90 dinars for food, 769 for cigarettes (both of them smoke), 443.30 for toilet articles, 3,135 for clothes and textiles, 1,240 for cultural necessities, 500 for a birthday present, and 144 dinars for the lotto payment and the purchase of lottery tickets. Also, 180 dinars were paid for the water they used. Electricity consumption is not in the diary. It is paid for on the last day of the month. The Dimitrijevićs have a two-rate meter, but as they say themselves, they do not keep a strict account of when electricity is cheap and when it is more expensive. There are months when they even pay 800 dinars.

When the food that they bought is broken down, [it turns out that] the most money was left at the butcher shop: 3,206.90 dinars. Both meat with bones and boneless meat was bought, for the most part pork. One of the children likes bologna sausage and hot dogs, and the other likes meat pastries and liver. Also bought was tea sausage, along with pork lard and five kilograms of raw bacon.

"There is a freezer where I mostly keep fresh frozen fruits and vegetables. There are also several kilograms of cutlets, just in case. I also have plenty of winter stores and various pickled foods, thanks to my mother-in-law, and

"also a large cask full of sauerkraut," Stojana listed. "We really don't economize on food at all. To tell you the truth, I am trying to keep to some sort of diet, but I don't have much willpower."

They spent 443 dinars on toilet articles, buying a 3-kilogram bag of detergent, three bars of soap, two toothbrushes, 11 packages of toilet paper, four bottles of shampoos, and hair spray.

"Slavoljub shaves himself, and I do not go to the hairdresser except for haircuts," Stojana says.

The Dimitrijevićs spent 1,240 dinars on cultural necessities but only went to the movies once in January 1982. The largest part of this item was a new TV antenna costing 1,040 dinars; they say themselves that television is the most important if not the only "culture" in the house. They rarely buy the daily newspapers, but they regularly read weeklies.

"We only went to a cafe once," Slavoljub added.

"Here is what it says in the diary," Stojana said. "On 13 January we went to a cafe and spent 60 dinars on drinks. We buy one whole lottery ticket each and pay for the whole lotto ticket every week. Maybe we'll get a prize tomorrow...."

"Not tomorrow, it's Saturday," Slavoljub says. "We might get a prize only on Tuesday, from the lotto, or on Thursday, from the lottery ticket."

The door opened and Slavoljub's mother Branka came in.

"This is our lottery ticket," her daughter-in-law Stojana said sincerely. "If she didn't watch our children, I don't know where we would find the money for the nursery school."

Grandmother Branka, the certified babysitting service, only smiled. She did not want to boast, but she knitted all of the children's sweaters herself. Grandfather Radomir bought Ivan a real leather soccer ball, and he bought Ana a large doll that can sleep.

The optimistic Slavoljub boasted, "Ivan also got Elan skis for the New Year, the kind that Stenmark and Krizanj use."

"Except that there's no snow," the mother said.

The Savings Book Still Exists

When the computer printed out data after the census last March on the Dimitrijević family, as one of the candidates with which statistical work would be done, Vojislav Brajović, an investigator for the Kragujevac Institute for Statistics, attempted at once to determine whether the household of Slavoljub's parents was strictly separate. It was scientifically proven that the money (the grandfather's invalid pension is 8,000 dinars) is not combined

and does not affect the standard of living of the young Dimitrijevićs. Scientific proof is one thing, however, and life is another.

"Neighbors help each other, and parents will especially help their children," grandmother Branka said. "You know, I was the first [to suggest] that they move out. When they are young themselves it is better for them, they get along better, and we old people help as much as we can. Sometimes we give the children a present, I knit a sweater, and I watch little Ana, her grandmother's darling...."

Let us return to the information in the household diary. Under the date 14 January it is written that a kilogram of coffee was bought for 600 dinars.

"How did you get it?"

"My sister works in the shop," Slavoljub admitted contritely. "We also have a good friend in the butcher shop."

"In January you spent 3,135 dinars for readymade clothing and textiles, and this was in cash. Where did you get the courage to do that?"

"I couldn't resist the sale; I bought men's pants, two women's blouses, some stockings, wool for sweaters, and material for a skirt or a dress, I haven't decided which yet," Stojana reported.

There were another five days left until 1 February and according to the calculations there were 2,385.55 dinars in the household budget. Would the Dimitrijevićs make it?

"We have a savings book account," Stojana remarked. "To tell you the truth, we borrow from our relatives and friends, but not often."

This savings book also proves that household budgets still do not make sense. They use it to save money for their annual vacation. Last year the four of them went to Sutomore for 20 days. As they reported to the Institute for Statistics, they spent 13,600 dinars, including transportation. They had a fantastic time. They stayed in a private room, and Stojana was naturally responsible for the cooking. They have never taken a winter vacation, and they will not do so now.

Will they take a summer vacation this year? They say maybe, but summer is a long ways away. We told them that we would visit them again at the end of April. Then we will also compare the diaries and see how our official average family standard of living is doing.

ANALYSIS OF CENSUS DISCLOSES NEW TRENDS

More Identifying as 'Yugoslavs'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1625, 21 Feb 82
pp 8-10

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "Peoples, Nationalities, Yugoslavs"]

[Text] The second "batch" of results from last year's population census, published a few days ago, reveals many interesting trends in the ethnic picture of individual areas in Yugoslavia; the greatest change is of course in the number of our countrymen who have declared themselves to be Yugoslavs. There are now four times as many of them as after the last census, 10 years ago.

Almost a year after the population census, the second group of data has begun to reach the public. They reveal certain complex trends regarding population changes by republics and provinces. In response to loud criticism of this delay, Andreja Stokic, the director of Serbia's Republican Institute for Statistics, told the journalists as a sort of consolation, "But do you know that half of the data from the 1931 census were not even processed until 1941?"

First Glance

We did not know, of course. At that time it was done "by hand," and today the computer at the disposal of this institute prints out 1,200 lines per minute, with 32 characters in each line. Some time is spent while people translate the data into "the language that the computer understands," and then it is a question of selecting priorities, which group of data will be taken up first by which institute, and which ones after that....

In this new batch of data prepared by the census statisticians for the public there is "a great deal that is the same" but also "a great deal that is different." Slovenia remained the most nationally homogeneous republic, but nevertheless the proportion of Slovenes in the total population of the republic was reduced from 94 percent to 90.5. Among the Slovenes, the number

of Serbs increased by 22,000, the number of Croats by 13,000, and the number of Moslems by 10,000 in comparison with the last census. These were probably mostly immigrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and other emigration areas.

From a casual first glance, here are a few more data. In addition to Slovenia, Serbia also has a fairly high positive migration balance. During the decade between the censuses, 85,000 more people moved into Serbia (the provinces are not being counted) than moved out of it. It is estimated that among them were about 55,000 immigrants from Kosovo.

Belgrade's population increased by one-fifth in the meantime. In 1 year or at most 2, the number of inhabitants of the capital will reach a million and a half.

The national awakening of the Gypsies may be mentioned as a consequence of progress in emancipation, as demonstrated by last year's census. The number of Gypsies in Macedonia increased from 24,500 to over 43,000; it more than doubled in Serbia; in Vojvodina it increased by over 2.5 times, and in Montenegro, by 3.5 times. This surely cannot be just the result of a high birth rate. It is reasonable to assume that many Gypsies who previously declared their nationality of some more "acceptable" people in their area are increasingly declaring their nationality according to their spontaneous national feelings.

This census shows that the assimilation of Jews, who were in any case not numerous--a process that no one has encouraged nor has had any reason to do so--is in its final phase. In Macedonia, 28 are left, and in Serbia, 391 (there were over 600 in the 1971 census); only about 15 of these live outside Belgrade.

In regard to Jews, the statistics show that there were 406 in Croatia in 1961, 2,845 in 1971 and 316 in the last census. In response to a question from this journalist about this statistically impossible jump in the preceding census, one individual familiar with the situation answered, "It was from splits."

Otherwise, in Croatia, with a total population increase of 4 percent between the two censuses, the total number of both Croats and Serbs declined; for Croats the index is 95.3, and for Serbs, 84.8. The reason for this decline will be discussed later.

Manifold Increases

Even this first glance at the new population census figures cannot overlook the fact that a large number of citizens are filling in the blank for nationality on the census questionnaire with the word "Yugoslav." There are incomparably more of them than after the 1971 census. The tendency is pronounced in all of the republics and in Vojvodina. These data are still unavailable for Kosovo and they will probably not be available until the middle of April, since the census was late as a result of last year's disturbances.

Those Identifying Themselves as Yugoslavs by Republics and Provinces

<u>Republic/Province</u>	<u>1981/1971 Index</u>	1981
		<u>Percentage of total population</u>
Bosnia-Herzegovina	745	7.91
Montenegro	285	5.33
Croatia	451	8.24
Macedonia	390	0.74
Slovenia	389	1.39
Serbia	357	4.77
Vojvodina	351	8.13
Kosovo	--	--

Some of these figures were obtained from the preliminary results of the census and may be corrected by a hundredth or a tenth of a percent, but their basic meaning cannot be disputed.

This trend is also followed by republics in which the percentage of declared Yugoslavs in the total population is small or very small, as in Slovenia and Macedonia. In Slovenia 1 of every 72 inhabitants identified himself as a "Yugoslav" in 1981, and in Macedonia 1 of every 135, but even this was a nearly fourfold increase in comparison with the census 10 years earlier.

In Serbia outside the provinces, the Yugoslavs are in second place by number in the census totals, immediately after the Serbs. Their number has increased 3.6 times since the last census, and they are now 4.77 percent of the population.

The largest percentage of declared Yugoslavs in the total population is in the Republic of Croatia--8.24 percent. No one could have expected this, because the proportion of Yugoslavs in the last census in Croatia was only 1.34 percent. Vojvodina, where 8.13 percent of the total population identified themselves as Yugoslavs, is in second place. The greatest increase in the number of declared Yugoslavs from the last census to this one, however, was noted in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where there are 7.5 times as many as in 1971 (see the table).

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, 283,000 more citizens identified themselves as Yugoslavs in the last census than in 1971. Apparently all three of the largest national groups--Moslems, Serbs and Croats--participated in the creation of this "surplus of Yugoslavs" in the republic. According to the data published a few days ago in the press, they all have different annual rates for the increase in the population. The Moslems have the largest, 13.67 percent, followed by the Croats with 8.10 percent and finally the Serbs, with 7.12 percent (from 1981 data). Ten years ago these rates were higher, and they have gradually declined. The total increase in 10 years for each of these three peoples, however--as shown by the results of the 1981 census--was noticeably lower than expected in view of the annual rates of increase.

Something similar happened in Croatia. As mentioned, the total number of Croats and Serbs in this republic has declined in comparison with the preceding census. The number of Yugoslavs, however, increased 4.5 times, so that this census found a total of 379,057 of them in Croatia. In the preceding census, 84,118 Yugoslavs were recorded in Croatia, and in the 1961 census, 15,560.

Bosnia-Herzegovina has a negative migration balance; more people are moving out of it (into Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and even abroad) than into it. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon could be sought in this fact, but likewise some citizens who identified themselves in the 1971 census as Moslems, Serbs and Croats must have identified themselves now as Yugoslavs. These are furthermore not hundreds or thousands, but rather tens of thousands. The number of declared Serbs and Croats in 1981 declined in absolute terms in comparison with the corresponding numbers from the previous census--the Serbs by 72,500 and the Croats by about 14,500. The number of Moslems increased by 147,500, but since the annual population increase is greatest in this group (significantly higher than 10 percent throughout the last decade), the increase in the Moslem population in Bosnia-Herzegovina would have to be greater if there were no emigration and if part of the Moslems had not "identified themselves as Yugoslavs."

A similar change could explain the census data from Montenegro, where, from 1971 to 1981, the number of Serbs declined from 39,500 to less than 19,500, while the number of Yugoslavs increased from 11,000 to over 31,000. If this is not an ordinary coincidence, this "deficit" of 20,000 Serbs in Montenegro and the equally large "surplus" of Yugoslavs cannot be attributed with complete certainty on the basis of the available statistical data, and even less disputed. In any case the public is not aware of any migration currents that could explain these figures differently. There has not been any mention of a migration of Serbs from Montenegro during the past decade.

In Serbia, the Yugoslav census designation was selected by the relatively largest number of citizens in Bosilegrad (27.4 percent) and in Dimitrovgrad (24.1 percent), where the Bulgarians constitute about two-thirds of the total population, according to the latest census data.

Mixed Areas

The recent census seems to suggest that areas with mixed nationalities "produce" the relatively largest number of declared Yugoslavs. These data, from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vojvodina and to some extent Serbia, have indicated this conclusion, but different examples require an examination with some reservations. Macedonia, where the Albanians constitute about 20 percent of the population (378,000 Albanians have been recorded in Macedonia, almost 4 hundred thousand more than in the last census), has the least declared Yugoslavs. In Bujanovac (in Serbia), on the other hand, where there are approximately 3 Albanians for every 2 Serbs, there are only 0.2 percent declared Yugoslavs.

Diverse regional traditions (those with religious roots should by no means be underestimated) and the same or a different language must have a considerable effect on social differentiation. It is possible that in some areas, identifying themselves as Yugoslavs in the census may help citizens to overcome this more easily (it has been observed that the "Yugoslav option" has particularly been represented in mixed marriages), while in other areas this bridge is of little use to anyone.

The available data indicate that living in large cities encourages a Yugoslav designation, in regard to the census questionnaire. Let us take Banja Luka with its 184,000 inhabitants, as an example. The Serbs constitute 50.86 percent, the Croats 16.58 percent and the Moslems 11.83 percent, while the "Yugoslav" entry was selected by 17.07 percent of the inhabitants of Banja Luka.

And the Young People?

The structure of the population of Sarajevo is different. In the census the city had almost 450,000 inhabitants--42.17 percent Moslems, 29.57 percent Serbs, 8.19 percent Croats and 15.94 percent who identified themselves as Yugoslavs.

The Vojvodina cities Novi Sad and Subotica recorded about 15 and 18 percent of their citizens respectively as Yugoslavs. In Belgrade, which in view of its nature as the capital and the presence of a multitude of federal institutions has unique and somewhat extrarepublican characteristics, every 10th inhabitant declared himself a Yugoslav. This is much more pronounced in the Belgrade communes that are metropolitan in the narrow sense of the word. Among the inhabitants of New Belgrade, 18.65 percent are Yugoslavs. Stari Grad is in second place with 16.43 and Savski Venac is in third with 16.25 percent. On the other hand, in Sopot only 1.19 percent of the citizens chose this census designation, with 2.16 percent in Mladenovac and 2.47 percent in Obrenovac.

In Croatia, Osijek is the city with the relatively largest number of declared Yugoslavs--28,439 from a total of 158,797 inhabitants, or 17.91 percent. Rijeka and Sisak are likewise among the highest in the republic in this respect. In this republic, the number of mixed marriages in industrial centers is increasing, especially among young people, and is approaching 16 percent.

In most of the Serbian village communes, the percentage of declared Yugoslavs is insignificant. A village obviously does not favor these designations, adhering more firmly to national and other traditions, but a metropolis and industry, with all the currents that accompany them, definitely encourage them.

And the young people--have they designated themselves by nationality in a particular way? For the time being, the census data do not indicate this. Possibly indicative is what Novi Sad University professor of sociology Dr. Aleksandar Raic said a few days ago for the newspapers: "More than

40 percent of the first-year students at Vojvodina faculties identify themselves as Yugoslavs."

Mixed Marriages

This Yugoslavism in the census is naturally to some extent a surprise, less so for some people and more so for others. As this issue of NIN is being completed, at noon on Wednesday, we do not have all the aggregate data required to give a precise figure for the entire country. Some of the data are so-called preliminary statistical data, and others must be corrected. The differences are most often expressed as a fraction of a percentage, but statisticians are meticulous people and their exactitude should also be observed in newspapers whenever possible.

Therefore, instead of an exact figure, we would prefer to make a very probable assessment: that somewhat more than 1.2 million Yugoslav citizens identified themselves as Yugoslavs in the 1981 census. This would be more than 5 percent of the population, a small segment in view of the size of the national population. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to recall that in the 1971 census a total of 273,000 citizens selected the census option "a Yugoslav of undetermined nationality," and now in Bosnia-Herzegovina alone there are over 50,000 more than in the entire country in 1971.

The initial and inevitably superficial commentaries pointed out mixed marriages as an explanation. In 1978 there were 3,340 more mixed marriages in Bosnia-Herzegovina than in 1971. This was an increase of 24 percent.

Nevertheless, the effect of mixed marriages on census designations in regard to Yugoslavism has certainly been overestimated in all the commentaries. Only every 8th marriage in Yugoslavia in 1971 was a marriage between members of different peoples and nationalities. Eighteen years ago every 11th marriage was mixed. The changes are there, but they are slow in coming. There is no basis for assuming that during the last decade the changes in this regard were dramatic, although the proportion of mixed marriages may be increasing to some extent. Stronger stimuli for the increase in the Yugoslav designation in the last census had to come from somewhere else.

Professor Rajc says that nationalism disrupts relations among people and their freedom and security, especially in a multinational family and in friendships among members of different nations; Yugoslavism is thus probably an attempt by people to oppose nationalism in this way.

The Need for Cooperation

Naturally, in all these variations we are not in the domain of statistics, but we develop these variations with the aid of figures. On the other hand, there are a great many relevant qualifications. After all, objective citizenship is only one component in national feeling. The other is an emotional orientation derived from many diverse circumstances in one's life. Probably many readers--if they were to concern themselves with this--would find among their acquaintances two brothers with the same father and the

same mother, who because of different circumstances in their lives identified themselves emotionally or rationally with different nations. In any case, this journalist could cite examples for you, adding that the area of feelings is subject to change.

The census indicated many changes in the population of Yugoslavia--changes both larger and smaller than this change in expressing membership in a nationality, which does not have practical significance but does have emotional significance as an expression of an increased need for cooperation in our common difficulties.

Changes Among Ethnic Groups

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1626, 28 Feb 82
pp 18-20

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "What the Census Figures Say"]

[Text] How demographers explain some of the differences between the data obtained by this census and the one 10 years ago: a certain reduction in the numbers of the largest nations, the Serbs and Croats, an abrupt increase in those identifying themselves as Yugoslavs; how they view the difference in birthrates between the Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Moslems in Kosovo....

The new group of census data is already becoming the subject of observations and commentaries. They apply to the national identification of Yugoslavs; many of them are unexpected and interesting.

The individuals with whom we spoke on this subject--the prominent demographers Academician Milos Macura and Prof Dusan Breznik, the director of the Center for Demographic Research in Belgrade--had in their hands the report of the Federal Institute for Statistics, "The Population by Nationality," for only a few hours before they stated their initial observations for NIN. They are therefore unavoidably incomplete, unsystematic and "disjointed" but very expert and stimulating.

Ebb Tide of the Largest

Academician Macura immediately pointed out that the two largest nations in our community have shown an ebb during the period between the two censuses. There were 7,000 fewer Serbs in Yugoslavia in 1981 than in 1971, and 98,000 Croats. This, in his opinion, cannot be explained by ethnobiological facts. Both the Serbs and the Croats, according to everything that is known or can be estimated with a high degree of probability, have had a small but positive natural increase. There should therefore be more of them in 1981 than 10 years ago. This is not true, however. Dr Breznik said that some of them, of course, have identified themselves as Yugoslavs. He also cites another possible factor. The census of people employed abroad was more meticulous and comprehensive last time but has fallen somewhat short in this regard. Macura

said for his part, as experience shows, it is worthwhile to consider that about 200,000 Yugoslavs employed abroad and the members of their families decided to stay "outside" permanently over the decade.

Both Macura and Breznik stress the relative significance of the nationality declarations and the subjective nature of nationality. Macura cited as an example the fact that in 1971 his wife, "objectively" a Macedonian, and he, "objectively" a Serb, identified themselves as Yugoslavs. He said that this was a reaction to the nationalistic euphoria at that time.

It seemed indiscreet to this journalist, who observed and to some extent instigated these remarks, to ask him whether Academician Macura and his wife identified themselves in the 1981 census in the same way. But when there is no question, there is no answer.

Macura remarked that the census data on nationality were influenced by the legalistic--i.e., constitutional--concept of the nation and the classification system. In previous censuses, for example, the Moslems were described in different ways: in 1948 as "undetermined Moslems" ("m"--an indication of religious affiliation), in 1953 as "undetermined Yugoslavs" and in 1961 as "Moslems" ("M" meaning an ethnic affiliation). Such changes naturally affect the corresponding series of statistical data and are worth considering.

The latest census found 39,000 Moslems in Macedonia, while the preceding one only found 1,000. These are probably groups with a Moslem life style, whose native language is Macedonian. They obviously identified themselves differently in the new census. There is no other way to explain a 39-fold increase in 10 years, according to Macura.

"Yugoslav" Surprise

Different identifications must be the basis for the very large increase in persons declaring themselves to be Yugoslavs, according to Macura. In the 1981 census there were 943,000 more than in the 1971 census. For some reason this new designation became more meaningful to them than the previous designation as one people or another, Macura said. We do not know why this happened. The phenomenon deserves to be studied carefully.

Professor Breznik said that such an increase in the number of Yugoslavs surprised him. "I did not expect them to increase that much," he said. Do not ask the statisticians about the reasons. They gathered the data and the statistics cannot give a direct answer to a question about reasons, whether it was the mixed marriages or something else.... This must be the subject of deeper sociological and political analysis.

A qualitative analysis of the census data on nationalities is also very important, Breznik emphasized, and it will not take place until later. Is there a qualitative change occurring in the level of education among the peoples and nationalities, the level of employment, the professional structure and other important factors? Subsequent, more refined analysis of the data will provide

this information; it is at least as important, if not more so, than the data on the numbers of one nationality or another.

Considering the role of mixed marriages in this increased number of Yugoslavs, Macura said that the number of marriages in which both partners are Yugoslavs is relatively small, only a small percentage of these marriages, and likewise only a small percentage of all children are born in such marriages.

We asked Macura if we understood each other, that he agreed with the view in the last issue of our newspaper, that this increase in the number of Yugoslavs cannot be interpreted primarily as a result of an increase in mixed marriages.

Macura answered, "It is difficult to do so, for one thing because mixed marriages in some strong and exclusive national groups maintain the focus, the goal of that group. The predominant part of Macedonia, Slovenia and Kosovo is such a group.... A marriage between a Slovene and a Croatian woman in Slovenia will usually have a Slovene national designation; a marriage between a Macedonian and a Greek, for example, in Macedonia will be designated as Macedonian. In these two republics, the percentage of marriages in which both partners are Yugoslavs is practically zero, and in Kosovo, it amounts to 0.9 percent of the marriages contracted in the course of a year."

Dr Breznik wanted to comment on the reduction in the numbers of many nationalities: Hungarians, Romanians, Italians, Bulgarians, with the exception of Albanians and Gypsies. He says that these are predominantly old populations with a low, zero or even negative birthrate. The figures, however, show that many members of nationalities have now designated themselves as Yugoslavs in the census. These new data cannot be explained differently. Breznik also mentioned assimilation. "The fact that no one wants it and no one is imposing it does not mean that there is none. I am a Slovene. I have been in Serbia for more than 35 years. If not my children, my grandchildren will probably be Serbs. That is the way life is."

Breznik said that the data on who--in the sense of social, age and educational structure--identified himself as a Yugoslav will not be available until later. Are these predominantly young people, predominantly educated ones and predominantly citydwellers, as it appears? Both Macura and Breznik felt that the noticeable increase in the number of Montenegrins in Serbia is only partly a consequence of migration. They assume that some Montenegrins in Serbia who selected Serbian nationality in the 1971 census for various reasons have returned to the Montenegrin nationality option. The same thing would be indicated by the reduced number of Serbs in Montenegro, although on the other hand they appeared primarily as a surplus under the "Yugoslav" entry.

Area	Serbs			Croats			Yugoslavs		
	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -
Yugoslavia	8,143	8,136	- 7	4,526	4,428	- 98	273	1,216	+943
Bosnia-Hercegovina	1,393	1,320	- 73	772	758	- 14	44	326	+282
Montenegro	40	20	- 20	9	8	- 1	11	31	+ 20
Croatia	627	532	- 95	3,514	3,454	- 60	84	379	+295
Macedonia	46	45	- 1	4	3	- 1	4	14	+ 10
Slovenia	21	42	+ 21	43	57	+ 14	7	26	+ 19
Serbia proper	4,699	4,861	+162	38	31	- 7	76	271	+195
Vojvodina	1,089	1,107	+ 18	138	109	- 29	47	167	+120
Kosovo	228	210	- 18	8	8	0	1	1	0

Area	Moslems			Slovenes			Albanians		
	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -
Yugoslavia	1,793	2,000	+270	1,678	1,754	+ 76	1,309	1,731	+422
Bosnia-Hercegovina	1,482	1,629	+ 8	4	3	- 1	4	4	0
Montenegro	70	78	+147	1	1	0	36	37	+ 1
Croatia	18	24	+ 6	32	25	- 7	4	6	+ 2
Macedonia	1	39	+ 38	1	1	0	280	378	+ 98
Slovenia	3	13	+ 10	1,624	1,712	+ 88	1	2	+ 1
Serbia proper	124	151	+ 27	11	8	- 3	66	72	+ 6
Vojvodina	3	5	+ 2	5	3	- 2	3	4	+ 1
Kosovo	26	59	+ 33	0	0	0	916	1,227	+311

Area	Macedonians			Montenegrins			Hungarians		
	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -	1971	1981	+ -
Yugoslavia	1,195	1,341	+146	509	577	+ 68	477	427	- 50
Bosnia-Hercegovina	2	2	0	13	14	+ 1	1	1	0
Montenegro	1	1	0	356	399	+ 43	0	0	0
Croatia	6	5	- 1	10	10	0	35	25	- 10
Macedonia	1,142	1,281	+139	3	4	+ 1	0	0	0
Slovenia	2	3	+ 1	2	3	+ 1	10	9	- 1
Serbia proper	25	29	+ 4	57	77	+ 20	6	5	- 1
Vojvodina	17	19	+ 2	36	43	+ 7	424	385	- 39
Kosovo	1	1	0	32	27	- 5	0	0	0

Differences in Birthrate

Interpreting some of the earlier figures, Macura said that a fairly rapid decline in the birthrate is appearing among Moslems. Immediately after the war, it was very high. "I think that this was a consequence of several complex circumstances, primarily changes in the understanding of human values and life's values: economic and social emancipation are only a part of it. I have wondered why the birthrate in Kosovo was declining so slowly. The influence of religion in regard to this is higher there. It is successfully bringing positive changes."

We asked Macura whether such a reproduction ideology had been favored until recently by official political circles in Kosovo? Nothing serious in family planning has ever been accepted in Kosovo. Such proposals have been rejected as unacceptable to the Albanian population, because they are allegedly irreconcilable with Moslem traditions.

Macura answered, "It is not easy to answer whether there is any reproduction ideology in the national ideology of Kosovo Albanians--a 'something' that encourages an exceptionally high birthrate. But the difference in attitudes toward these issues between Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Albanians in Kosovo, in spite of a similar Moslem tradition, is cause for thought."

Breznik and Macura did not agree on the source of these differences. Breznik recalled that Bosnia-Herzegovina was the most frequent refuge of the armed phase of the revolution. The partisans arrived in isolated villages. Along with them a new ideology and a new world view penetrated, and the Moslem population of these areas was, along with the rest of the population, relatively well prepared during the war to accept a new life style.

Macura again felt that these circumstances could not have had such decisive impact on the attitude toward the birthrate. He recalled that precisely this reproduction ideology accompanied a revolution in certain Moslem countries.

Breznik felt that the natural increase in Kosovo will begin to decline gradually (the birth-rate of the Albanian population has fallen from 44 per 1,000 after the war to 31 per 1,000, but the mortality rate has also fallen from 20 to 6 per 1,000, so that the natural increase is still rising to some extent). Educated generations are coming (the education explosion in Kosovo has not been present very long). When a larger number of women finish school and when the rate of the employment of women increases (it is still very low in Kosovo), there will inevitably be a decline in the birthrate of the inhabitants, according to Breznik. An educated woman will hardly decide to have seven children, and a woman with a job will simply not be able to. A future decline in the birthrate is indicated by the fact that among Albanian women there has been a reduction in the number of women giving birth after 35. In 1950, 1,000 Albanian women between 35 and 44 years of age gave birth to 74 children, and in 1978, only 16. In Serbia and Slovenia, for example, women of that age virtually do not give birth if they already have 1 or 2 children.

In 1950, a woman in Kosovo had an average of 7 children and in 1978, an average of 4.5 children.

Breznik said that Yugoslavia is still aiming at a reduction in the population growth. The birthrate is already low in both Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina, not just in Serbia and Croatia. This is compensated for to some extent by the reduced mortality rate. In 1978 in Serbia there were an average of less than two children per woman, which is not even enough for mere reproduction. Seven to 8 percent of the women do not have any children at all. Some of them never marry. Breznik said that at least a fifth of the marriages should have three children in order to maintain the average reproduction rate of slightly over two children per marriage.

TREATMENT OF COMINFORMISTS ON PRISON ISLAND DISCUSSED

Abuses, Confusions, Rectifications

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82
pp 55-56

[Installment from series entitled "The Cominform and Goli Island" by Savo Krzavac and Dragan Markovic]

[Excerpt] In the atmosphere of general tension and indeed confusion as well, under the strong pressure and menacing dangers--with tanks on the border, with infiltrated saboteurs, and powerful propaganda of all types--there was nervousness as well as harsh and inhumane acts against those ascertained or even suspected to be on the "other side." Though more than 3 years had passed since the war, it was still going on against the "invisible" adversary for members of UDBa [State Security Administration]. Immediately after the war they were pursuing Chetnik and Ustasha bands. And no sooner had they thought they might live like the rest of the world than the conflict with the Cominform overturned them. These were usually young people who wanted a peaceful and normal family life which the great majority of citizens of Yugoslavia did have. But they had not had it since 1941. It was on them that the strongest blow of the counterrevolution fell. They died and were wounded in conflicts with individuals and counterrevolutionary groups. They froze and suffered in the forests and ravines. We have already written that 1,980 of our people died in defending the achievements of the Yugoslav revolution at the time of the Cominform pressure. Three times as many were wounded and injured, and many of them were left disabled for the rest of their life.

For that reason many were harsher toward the traitors than toward opponents on the other side of the front, toward the captured fascist soldiers, for example. These had been their comrades and fellow fighters until yesterday, but had left them, and had turned against them as traitors in the country's critical moment. There were also those who manifested their personal contempt in an impermissible way, by abusing both the Cominform supporters and their families. There were also individuals who took advantage of the situation that had come about for personal revenge or those who wanted in this way to prove their loyalty and "orthodoxy." Cases were recorded in which some investigators exposed members of their own families to the harshest treatment because they had shamed them and even brought them themselves under suspicion

and "ruined" their future. Many other errors were also committed. There were cases when an investigator would move into a better apartment belonging to a "Cominform supporter" whom he had himself sent to prison, or this was done by some other "important figure" in the opstina committee. Pressure was exerted on the wife or husband to obtain a divorce when the respective spouse had favored the Cominform Resolution.

Of all the petty or major errors, major or minor injustices which were committed, about which one wonders whether they were necessary from the comfortable vantagepoint of this moment, the most difficult was that among those in the prisons, and indeed even on Goli Island there were people who were not guilty!

Such cases were errors, but never the policy. These were outrages which were noted even at the time, and those who committed them were strictly penalized even at the time, not uncommonly by ending up in prison instead of their "victims." Those who committed the errors and injustices were called to account.

Prison--Instead of a Decoration

There were several cases in which major errors were committed, when several groups of people were in prison without cause. One such was the "railroad group" (Belgrade, 1951). One incompetent investigator was taken in by fabricated tale (which, incidentally, is a customary method used in the unsparing war of nerves) of a railroad engineer of unstable character and issues the order to arrest a whole group of people from the railroad, among them their supervisor, a distinguished fighter and responsible man. To compound the trouble, something which might have been called a great exploit was also included among his sins. That is, with those same comrades with whom he found himself because of an error on Goli Island (on Grgur and in Bileca), several months earlier, by order from the very top level, he had managed to organize a fictional "Ustasha network" on the railroad as one of the baits, which were taken by Ustasha emigres of Ljuba Milos' group, who even came from abroad to join it and take part in its actions! And--instead of decorations and the highest public recognition, he found himself in prison.

As soon as the error was suspected, the most able investigators were sent to study the entire case, whereupon they were released and judicially rehabilitated. They were reinstated in the jobs which they held previously.

Nor did the "KOS group" fare better. A certain participant in the war who had gone through OZNa [Department of Internal Security] and then UDBa, an officious braggart, had even managed to reach a supervisory post in KOS (the counterintelligence service of the police), wherefrom he arrested a large number of his coworkers as "Cominform supporters," figuring that he would distinguish himself "as the best" in the fight against the counterrevolution on the basis of the number of people arrested. When the inquiry was opened, it turned out that none of the persons arrested was guilty. All were released and reinstated in their previous jobs. But then he himself found himself in the dock, and then he found himself on Goli Island. One can imagine the attitude toward him on the part of those convicted persons who had unjustly gone to prison again through someone's error or clear intention.

After the war we learned everything, including how to conduct inquiries and trials, though our revolutionary courts began at the time of the uprising in 1941. We did not have professional judges and investigators who had graduated from school and the university. These functions were performed by those who had been pupils in elementary and secondary school, by shepherds, by workers, and less frequently by lawyers and trained judges, who were not numerous at that time.

Being Taken In by the Testimony of "Cominform Supporters"

The desire for effective action, and sometimes even stronger emotions, resulted in haste, and from there it was only a step to committing an error. There were cases when the young and inexperienced investigators, who were honorable people and brave fighters from the war, were taken in by the testimony of Cominform supporters, who instead of their real collaborators in the counterrevolution "gave away" not only innocent, but precisely those who had conducted the most successful action against the system of Cominform agents. Errors like these were also rectified, of course. And those who had made the error suffered penalties of being discharged, or criminal charges were brought against them.

Certainly it was not possible in all this for new errors to be altogether avoided, but there were fewer and fewer of them, especially as the country became more secure, better stabilized, and as the danger to the achievements of the revolution abated. The conditions existed for calmer work and also more successful pursuit of the members of foreign networks of agents.

That was also the case on Goli Island. The errors which were discovered were rectified, and those guilty of harsh treatment, whether prisoners themselves or those who guarded them, were discharged and punished.

Incidentally, the barracks (buildings built of stone) had "chiefs" who were themselves convicts who obtained that position on the basis of good behavior while serving their sentence. Their assistants were also convicts. The investigators and guards, members of the Security Service, were located quite a distance from them (more than 1 km). They exercised overall surveillance, but they did not always have the necessary insight into the everyday behavior of the convicts and their "chiefs" who at times regulated life in the barracks according to some standards of their own. And among them there were those who wanted to "prove themselves." They did so with a harsh regime which they themselves established and enforced.

Usually the inmates complained about this attitude to the investigators, but sometimes also to physicians who occasionally came for medical inspection, and then "finally" they moved on to responsible individuals. This would usually be followed by an inspection by the appropriate authorities, which after an inquiry into the situation in the prison, would take steps, and there were cases when people were discharged from the staff of the body responsible for that prison. One such inspection at the "highest level" occurred in 1950, the most difficult year for us both from the standpoint of security and also from the standpoint of the economic situation (it was the first and only time up to

the present that we were actually threatened with starvation). One of the former convicts in "Structure 10," to which people were assigned who before their conviction had held responsible positions in society, has told us how "everyone bustled about" before the arrival of that inspection team. They fixed up and painted the interior, they prepared "for it to be seen how good people here lived." The guards were at that time more anxious than the convicts themselves, whose life had improved essentially under these conditions.

That was also the case on Crgur, a tiny island alongside Goli Island, where former members of the Yugoslav Army and Security Service were imprisoned separately.

There were also cases in which the investigators themselves would conclude from direct encounters with some of the convicts that they could not have had any connection whatsoever with the Cominform, which they reported to the appropriate authorities, who thereupon sent them home after brief formalities.

There was even a case like this on Goli Island. A high official of the Ministry of Internal Affairs met a convict and after exchanging a few words concluded that this person must have come to the island "by accident."

"Why were you arrested," he asked him.

"I don't know!"

"And do you know what the Cominform is?"

"I heard that he was against Tito, but I have not seen him."

"?"

The official issued an order that this convict be sent home immediately and that a check be made that there were no others like him.

And during the investigations there were also people who declared themselves "in favor of the Resolution," but who did not know what it contained.

In the archives there are brief investigator's reports on interrogations like this:

"Are you in favor of the Cominform Resolution?"

"Yes!"

"Are you in favor of Stalin?"

"Yes!"

"Are you in favor of Tito?"

"Yes."

"Have you read the Cominform Resolution?"

"No."

"Do you know what is written in it?"

"No, I don't."

"Do you know what the Cominform is?"

"No, I don't."

"Yet you are in favor of the Resolution...."

"Yes, I am!"

And, of course, in most cases it depended on the investigator whether such a "Cominform supporter" would go to prison or someone would take him and explain to him what the Resolution was and what the Cominform was, what we were against, and what we wanted to preserve, and let him go home, which is what was usually done.

If one of them did happen to go to prison, those were mistakes which were sooner or later discovered and rectified.

Yet most of the inmates were real "Cominform supporters, traitors to the country and revolution.

Sardonic 'Explanation'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82 p 3

[Letter to the editor from Ilog Koto, Belgrade: "A Bolt From the Blue"]

[Text:] Never up until 1948 was any dispute between the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] and other communist parties made public. It all was like a bolt from the blue. It is natural that many people did not get their bearings in that kind of situation. Had people been informed earlier about the Stalinist purges and other pogroms, Goli Island would not have been a camp.

Hoax Revealed

Novi VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 82 SEDAM DANA p 19

[Editor's comment on the letter from Ilog Koto: "Oversight"]

[Excerpt:] In its last issue NIS began to publish in its department "Echoes" reactions to the feature article "The Cominform and Goli Island" written by Stjepan Krizanac and Dragan Markovic. The following letter was among the first to be published:

"Bolt From the Blue"

"Never up until 1948 was any dispute between the CPY and other communist parties made public. It all was like a bolt from the blue. It is natural that many people did not get their bearings in that kind of situation. Had people been informed earlier about the Stalinist purges and other pogroms, Goli Island would not have been a camp."

The letter quoted above, which attempts to find a justification for several thousand people, most of them traitors and criminals, who served their legal sentences on Goli Island, was signed by Ilog Koto, Belgrade. The signature, if the words are transposed and the letters read backward, actually reads: Goli Otok (Goli Island).

Thus it escaped the attention of the editors of NIN that one of its readers was taking advantage of the openness of the department in which readers' letters are published. Since our newspaper has in recent years also developed an extensive and popular department called "Messenger," and since we have also at times been uncertain about the identity of a person we are collaborating with, we understand the difficulties of our colleagues at NIN in guaranteeing the authenticity of every letter.

'Such Were the Times'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1628, 14 Mar 82
pp 3, 6

[Letter to the editor by Dragoslav Manic Forski, Babusnica: "My Brother Has Only Now Begun To Speak of It"]

[Text] My brother was on Goli Island as a "Cominform supporter." He does not read the papers. He does not have the time. When I read to him the first two installments of your feature article, he became visibly agitated. It was clear to me that he was reexperiencing what he had experienced 30 years ago....

He never spoke about his imprisonment on Goli Island. Now, however, he has begun to speak.

Here is what I have learned from him.

Like two other brothers of mine, he was a participant in the National Liberation War. (One of our brothers gave his life for freedom.) After the war, as a member of the CPY, he was vigorous in everything the party requested of him.

In his soul he remained a true peasant: He loved his piece of land. That is why he didn't like it when he learned that the "Russian regime" also meant confiscation of the land. So, suspicion toward that "regime" was immediately aroused in him.

Well, it was that loyalty to the land that caused his trouble. That is, our household got into a squabble with the household of an uncle over a mill. We

had to go to court. When my uncle saw that he would lose the case, he thought of a way to get his revenge. He knew the kind of political climate the Cominform had caused, and, with the help of two pals of his, he falsely accused my brother of being a Cominform supporter!!!

And thus they drove an innocent man to Goli Island. Without a trial. They believed the testimony of those three heartless individuals.

You already know what it was like on Goli Island. It is the truth, my brother says, what the comrades at NIN have written, but quite a few things might be added....

And then there was the "Rankovic case." My brother thought: "Now is the time to clear my name!" He wrote to the competent authorities in order to have his case reopened. The answer he received was this:

"Comrade, there is no documentation on your case whatsoever." Which means: as though nothing had happened!... But, these are living people, they know what happened. "Leave it, comrade, the times were like that then."

Of the three heartless individuals who drove my innocent brother to Goli Island, one drowned himself, another moved away, and a third, whenever he is drunk, cannot resist the voice of his conscience: He admits his sin.

So, comrades, this is a story about a "Cominform supporter." I do not know the others, perhaps they are also interesting.

'A Little Brain-Rinsing'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1629, 21 Mar 82 p 7

[Reader's letter to the editor from Bozidar Krsta Pejovic, Konik, Titograd: "I Will Never Know"]

[Text] I was arrested on 26 November 1951, and on 7 January 1952 I turned 18, I repeat, 18 years of age. I was never in favor of the Cominform, nor did I know about it, nor do I know today why I was on Goli Island. I think that something should be written about people like us, who comprise more than 70 percent, since we were victims of the hysteria of UDBa investigators. I do not agree with and categorically reject what Krzavac and Markovic are writing and presenting to the readers: "[text garbled--translator's note] were the convicts themselves" ... that is a fairy tale. Who was it that ordered me to keep my head in the chamber pot all night, who hung around the neck of an old professor at Belgrade University a "sign" on the front which said "I am a traitor," and on the back which read "A traitor who has not changed his position"?

It happened and it is over, let it not happen again!

And finally, when I returned, the chief of UDBa in Titograd asked me when I reported to him, I think his name was Vlado: "Well, you were not on the list

of wrongdoers, young lad." "How come I am not, when you arrested me and you yourself beat me?" To that he answered: "You know, just to rinse out your brain a little bit! THAT IS ALL. I have remained loyal to Tito and the party to the grave, but I resent the fact that I will never know why I was on GOLI ISLAND!"

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